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EDITORIAL

THE LEFT WING OF THE REFORMATION, AS ROLAND BAINTON CALLS IT, INCLUDing all those elements which did not follow the major state church Protestant line, covers a wide range of groups and figures, of which the evangelical Anabaptists were but one, although the chief, group. It remains a major unfinished task of Reformation historiography clearly and completely to define and to delimit this group. In the initial period of Anabaptism (1525-35) this is not at all easy in so far as individual figures are concerned, since there was no sharp organization, and some persons were only tentatively or temporarily a part of the general movement. The sources are also not always adequate to determine the exact position of individuals, and in a number of cases no thorough study has been made. It is now common to distinguish Spiritualists from Anabaptists, but here again some of the Spiritualists were for a time direct participants in Anabaptist life and activity, e.g., Hans Denk. In the secondary line of connection were those who associated with Anabaptists or Spiritualists and have often by association been labeled as Anabaptists. One of these who were erroneously identified with the movement was Ludwig Haetzer. It is the service of Gerhard Goeters to have identified him clearly for what he really was, and to have produced the definitive biography of Haetzer. Haetzer was not an Anabaptist, though for a time closely associated with Denk, and even though there is a record of one case of baptism by him. We hope that Goeters' work may soon find publication.

THE ENTHRALLING STORY OF HOW AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH WAS FINALLY ESTABlished among the Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco after several years of what seemed to be failure, carries many challenging questions and pointed lessons. It throws a strong light on the problem of "Christianity and Culture" from a new point of view. It raises the question of what is the essence of true Christianity. It challenges current methods of evangelism among non-Christian peoples. It throws into sharp focus the role of the Holy Spirit in Christian work. It raises penetrating questions about the Christianization of culture, and beyond that, of the role of culture. Albert Buckwalter's report answers some of these questions and presses hard for answers on others, while still others are only hinted at. It is chiefly a report of what has just happened, and will need to be supplemented with a further report on what will yet come to pass before final judgment can be made. We are grateful for a masterly presentation of an important theme.

THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE SWISS MENNONITES IN NORTH AMERICA are measurably enriched by the publication of David Schneck's history of the Sonnenberg (Ohio) community as edited by John Umble in this issue. Schneck's account contains several valuable documents in addition to his own keen and carefully recorded observations. That the report is spiced by evaluative statements at a number of points does not seriously vitiate its objectivity, since it is evident that Schneck was transparently honest, and his own bias can be readily assessed. The account of the human weaknesses and failures, including schisms, that mar the almost 125 years of history of the settlement makes sad reading. It also explains at least in part why the Sonnenberg settlement, the oldest of the three major Swiss settlements in America (Bluffton, Ohio, and Berne, Indiana, being the other two), failed to develop as favorably as the others. The REVIEW is happy to publish the Schneck material, filled as it is with interesting and multitudinous details not ordinarily found in professional histories.

THE VALUABLE ANNUAL REPORT ON ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE COLLEGES which has been prepared by Silas Hertzler since 1928 appears again in this issue of the REVIEW for the year 1953-54. It reveals no substantial change either in the pattern or the level of enrollment for the year.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

LUDWIG HAETZER, A MARGINAL ANABAPTIST

GERHARD GOETERS*

Ludwig Haetzer (he himself spelled his name "Haetzer," whereas his contemporaries use the spelling "Hetzer") was born in Bischofszell in the canton of Thurgau of Switzerland about 1500, apparently descended from a respected family. That he was of Waldensian descent, as Ludwig Keller believed, cannot be proved; according to his own testimony he was educated in the faith of the medieval church, probably early intended for the priesthood. He was educated in the *Stiftsschule* of the *Chorherrenstift* of St. Pelagius. In the fall of 1517 he was matriculated in the philosophical faculty of the University of Basel, but never acquired an academic degree. His education was humanistic, for already by 1523 he was versed in the three classical languages. This is in agreement with his formal high evaluation of Holy Scripture, his view of Christ as an example, and his predominantly ethical understanding of the Christian faith, features which mark the first recognizable phase of his theology.

After the conclusion of his studies, about 1520, Haetzer probably was consecrated as a priest in Constance, which was the seat of the bishop. Then he was given the position of chaplain in Wädenswil at Lake Zürich (in a territory which was politically attached to Zürich). However by 1523 he left this position to go to Zürich. The reason for this move was very likely his inclination toward the Reformation.

* Gerhard Goeters (Th.D., Zurich, 1955) of Bonn, Germany, wrote his doctoral dissertation on Ludwig Haetzer, which is to be published soon. He is now engaged in research in Reformation history, chiefly in the territory of the Rhineland and Westphalia. He has been commissioned to prepare the *Täuferakten* of this area for publication, and also has a commission to edit the *Kirchenvisitationsprotocolle* of the 16th century for this region.

With his first book, *Ein Urteil Gottes unsers Ehegemahls, wie man sich mit allen Götzen und Bildnissen soll, aus der Hl. Schrift gezogen durch L. H.,* published at Zürich by Christoph Froschauer and dated September 24, 1523, Haetzer enters the clear light of history. In three theses, which were proved with many citations from the Bible, he advocated the rejection of images in the Christian churches and argued for their removal as a command of God. In conclusion he refuted four possible counter arguments.[1] This booklet was intended to defend the repeated acts of iconoclasm which had taken place in Zürich during this month, and to assist in hastening reform. Haetzer also tried to work personally for the Reformation. In October 1523, for instance, he interrupted the pastor Konrad Heffelin of Maschwanden, a village on the Zürich border in the direction of Zug, in a sermon, with the result that the council of Zürich occupied itself with this affair on October 22, 1523, and later again on March 21, 1524. Heffelin was deposed from his position; Haetzer was exonerated.

Following the first Zürich disputation of January 29, 1523, the question of images and the Mass took first place in the Reformation movement. Upon the request of the city pastors, Zwingli, Jud, and Engelhard, the council held a second disputation in Zürich on October 26-28, 1523. On the first day Leo Jud spoke on the images and on the second and third Zwingli discussed the Mass and the Lord's Supper. Haetzer was present at the debate and twice asked for the floor. The council then commissioned him to draw up the report, in which task George Binder, the schoolmaster of the Grossmünster church, was to help him. The records of the disputation, examined and approved by the council commission, were published on December 8, 1523, by Froschauer: *Acta oder Geschichte, wie es auf dem Gespräch der 26., 27. und 28. Tagen Weinmonats in der christlichen Stadt Zürich vor einem ehrsamen gesessenen grossen und kleinen Rat, auch in Beisein von mehr als 500 Priestern und viel anderer biederer Leute, ergangen ist. Betreffend die Götzen und die Messe.*[2] The foreword by Haetzer praises the majesty of the Word of God, which is to decide ecclesiastical disputes. The Zürich council appeared as the example of a Christian government. In connection with these events Haetzer also published a second edition of his booklet on images. In the matter of church politics during these months he sided entirely with Zwingli, who was still urging immediate reform. His theology is extreme Biblicism, which betrays Zwing-

1 W. Köhler, No. 164, pp. 126-28.

2 *Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Egli, Finsler, Köhler, Blanke (Leipzig, 1904-5) II, 671-803.

li's influence and has definite reform in view. His later understanding of the Apostle Paul in a reformatory sense is not yet present in his thinking.

Haetzer's next work was the translation of a medieval document to be used for the conversion of the Jews, which was printed by Silvan Otmar in Augsburg on January 2, 1524, with the title: *Ein Beweis, dass der wahre Messias gekommen sei, auf den die Juden noch ohne Ursache in der Zukunft warten, geschrieben durch Rabbi Samuel [Maroccanus] . . .*, which Haetzer probably did on a commission. In 27 chapters the correctness of the medieval church doctrine against the Jews is proved out of the Old Testament. Many of the offensive Catholic statements Haetzer softened by the use of marginal notes. The second edition of this booklet, which appeared on March 12, 1524, published by Johannes Hager in Zürich, contained an insert, which in Zwinglian formulation attacked the offerings and chants of the Mass and its numerous prayers. In view of the fact that for the time being the old church was still in force in Zürich, the critical note of the pamphlet is noteworthy.

The first document indicating an inner estrangement of Haetzer from Zwingli is his exposition of the New Testament epistles from Ephesians to Hebrews: *Eine kurze wohlgegründete Auslegung der zehn nachgehenden Episteln S. Pauli, ertslich im Latein durch Johannes Bugenhagen aus Pommern, Bischof zu Wittenberg, geschrieben und von L. H. verdeutscht.* This book was published by Otmar in Augsburg, the foreword dated June 29, 1524.[3] In this book the Reformation is sharply accused of not having adhered to the Word of God with all strictness and decisiveness. Zwingli himself, though not named, is frequently attacked. The booklet states that a second reformation is expected, which would for the first time produce the true church of confessing Christians. These documents make it clear that Haetzer was being attracted to the circle around Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz. Since we have no extensive sources from this circle at this time Haetzer's testimonials give an excellent picture of their position. They show that the estrangement from Zwingli was brought about not by dogmatic reasons (now the reformatory understanding of Paul is evident in Haetzer also), but by consideration of church policy. A marginal note on Ephesians 5:22 ff. gives the first literary evidence that the common church practice of infant baptism had become dubious to the Grebel circle.

In June 1524 Haetzer traveled to Augsburg with a letter of

3 The full text is to be found in J. F. Gerhard Goeters, *Ludwig Haetzer ca. 1500 bis 1529, eine Randfigur der frühen Täuferbewegung* (Zürich theological dissertation 1955).

recommendation from Zwingli to Johannes Frosch, to supervise Otmar's publication of his book on the epistles. Also a translation of Bugenhagen's commentary on the Psalms had been planned, which, however, was not carried out. In Augsburg Haetzer won the friendship of the reformer Urbanus Rhegius. A fateful incident was the beginning of an acquaintance with the merchant George Regel, whom he accompanied to his country estate. When soldiers of the Duke of Bavaria took the Regels as prisoners from their castle at Lichtenberg on the Lech because of their support of the evangelical cause, Haetzer scarcely escaped arrest and fled to Augsburg. About October he returned to Zürich.

Meanwhile the problem of baptism had become a public matter in Zürich. The circle of opponents of infant baptism had grown to a considerable number; there were connections with Carlstadt. The leaders of the group upon their request were given the opportunity to express themselves on the question of the permissibility of infant baptism in private conversations on two Tuesdays. On the side of the opponents of infant baptism Haetzer also participated in these conversations, and challenged Zwingli with sharp logic in the latter's exposition of Bible passages. He was also present at the disputation before the council on January 17, 1525. Together with Reublin, Brötli, and Castelberger he was expelled from Zürich on January 31 as a noncitizen. But he did not, as did the other members of the Grebel group, accept the baptism of faith in these days, because he disapproved of this act. To be sure he definitely rejected infant baptism, as the fragment of a letter written to Balthasar Hubmaier shows, which must date from this period,[4] but he was not ready for rebaptism. In fact there is no evidence that he was ever baptized. He definitely did not join the Anabaptist group in Zürich.

From Zürich Haetzer went to Constance. Here the bishop was engaged in a struggle with the council, which was advocating reform. Haetzer was among the clergy who, on April 29, 1525, took the oath of obedience to the council. But his days there cannot have been of long duration. Fridolin Sicher's *Chronik* claims that Haetzer stayed for a while in Swabia and participated with Christoph Schappeler of Memmingen in the composition of the Twelve Articles of the Peasants. Soon he was in Augsburg again and entered the service of the publisher Otmar as a proofreader. In Otmar's shop then appeared his booklet: *Von den evangelischen Zechen und von der Christen Rede aus Hl. Schrift.*[5] The word "Zechen" refers to meetings of

4 Text in Goeters, *op. cit.*
5 Text in Goeters, *op. cit.*

Protestant-minded members of the trade guilds, such as were being held in this time of religious and social disputes, and may often have ended in wild drinking parties. Haetzer testified that he himself had taken part in such occasions. In this booklet he severely criticized these meetings. Not Christ but Bacchus, he said, was leading people together here. Instead of brotherly edification and admonition, calumnies and warlike counsel reigned. For Christians, who are to live a spiritual life of moderation according to God's will and according to the example of Christ, and who are to have naught but God's Word in their mouths, participation in such meetings is inappropriate. At this time Augsburg was deeply involved in social unrest and in a dispute about communion. Most of the preachers were preaching Lutheran ideas, for which reason many citizens turned away from them and assembled instead in smaller circles. In these conventicles, which followed the teaching of Carlstadt and Zwingli on the Lord's Supper, Haetzer played an important role. In September 1525, when the clergy of the city were on the point of gaining the upper hand in this dispute about the Lord's Supper because of the intervention of Wittenberg, Haetzer, in a letter dated September 14,[6] demanded of Zwingli that he compose a counter booklet which Haetzer would have published in Augsburg. Shortly after this Haetzer had a clash with Rhegius, when he depreciated and tried to refute among his friends Rhegius' Lutheran sermon on John 6:63. He was thereupon challenged by Rhegius to a disputation, but failed to appear. Then he was expelled from the city as a disturber of the peace. Haetzer did not advocate Anabaptist teachings in Augsburg, even though the later Anabaptist congregation here had its origin in these conventicles.

About the middle of October 1525 Haetzer went to Basel by way of Constance, where he had some theological discussions with Ambrosius Blaurer, and in Basel was received by Johannes Oecolampadius. Through Oecolampadius he sent greetings by letter to Zwingli, and on October 17 wrote a letter himself to Zwingli,[7] seeking to regain the latter's favor. Meanwhile he translated Oecolampadius' important book on the Lord's Supper, *Vom Nachtmal,* together with two sermons by the same author on the same subject. But the reconciliation with Zwingli did not take place until he made a journey to Zürich on November 5, on which occasion he took part in the Anabaptist disputation of November 6-8, 1525, held in the Grossmünster church. There he is reported to have publicly confessed his error

6 Letter printed in *Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* VII, No. 383, pp. 360 ff.
7 Letter printed in *op. cit.;* VIII, No. 393, pp. 389 f.

and even to have attacked the Anabaptists. A personal conversation with Zwingli resulted in a theological understanding between them. Haetzer, who had not received the baptism of faith, recognized the admissibility of infant baptism as an external sign corresponding with the circumcision of the Old Testament. Like Zwingli he made a sharp distinction between the impartation of the Spirit and the reception of the sacraments. The motivation for this agreement is to be found in the status of the dispute on the Lord's Supper. Thus he now again enjoyed the full confidence of Zwingli, who also sanctioned his translation of Oecolampadius' book on the Lord's Supper. This booklet appeared at the end of 1525, published by Froschauer, with the title: *Vom Sakrament der Danksagung. Von dem wahren natürlichen Verständnis der Worte Christi: Das ist mein Leib, nach der alten Lehrer Erklärung.* The foreword[8] rejected as Catholic superstition the view of the real presence of Christ in the communion emblems. The idea that the sacraments bring about the forgiveness of sins and the assurance of faith is definitely attacked, thus probably showing the spiritualizing influence of Carlstadt. Furthermore a long list of contemporary opponents, from Luther to Erasmus, are depreciatingly characterized. This foreword contains in addition a justification by Haetzer of his position to the question of baptism (p. 444), which deserves particular attention. At Zwingli's request he was present in Basel participating in the call of Conrad Pellikan to the Zürich pulpit.[9] In the middle of February 1526 he was back in Zürich to supervise the publication of another writing by Oecolampadius on the Lord's Supper. At the time of the disputation of Baden he was living in Basel. The council delegated him to Baden, but he apparently did not take part in the disputation. Meanwhile he was engaged in the translation of writings by Oecolampadius. At the end of July 1526 appeared in the printing house of Thomas Wolfe in Basel the booklet *Der Prophet Maleachi mit Auslegung Johannis Oecolampadii, durch ihn im Latein geschrieben, mit Fleiss verdeutscht durch L. H.*[10] The foreword of July 18, 1526, shows a transitional stage in Haetzer's thinking. Scripture and spirit become the principal theme. Biblicistic tones are still noticeable, but at the same time there is a spiritualistic tendency, which is revealed even in his concept of the sacrament. A translation of Oecolampadius' commentary on Isaiah was announced. Shortly afterward there appeared in the same printing shop a translation of Oecolampadius' second

8 Reprinted in E. Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampeds* I (Leipzig, 1927) No. 319, pp. 437-47.

9 Letter to Zwingli dated Dec. 30, 1525, in *Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* VIII, No. 431, pp. 482 f.

10 Reprinted in Staehelin, *op. cit.*, I, No. 413, pp. 565-67.

booklet on the Lord's Supper entitled: *Vom Nachtmahl. Beweisung aus evangelischen Schriften, wer die seien, die des Herrn Nachtmahlswort unrecht verstehen und auslegen,* which however was probably written before the translation of the commentary on Malachi. The foreword dated August 5, 1526,[11] again rejects the real presence, and spiritualistic tendencies are also visible here. The depreciation of all learnedness is reminiscent of Carlstadt.

But suddenly this leisurely literary activity came to an end. Haetzer had been guilty of a moral offense with a maid in Basel. In order to evade exposure he left the city. Probably for this reason only a part of the planned translation of the commentary on Isaiah, *Das 36. und 37. Kapitel Jesaja des Propheten, ausgelegt durch Johannes Oekolampad,* appeared, published by Otmar in Augsburg in 1526. His name is not mentioned in the booklet nor is there a foreword.

In Strasbourg Wolfgang Fabritius Capito received Haetzer in his home and supported his learned interest. Haetzer was still planning the translation of the commentary on Isaiah, but then soon turned directly to the Hebrew original text. Capito, who was one of the outstanding Hebraists, or Hans Denk, with whom he entered into a friendly relation during these weeks, may have persuaded him to do this. By Denk he was drawn into the Anabaptist disturbances in Strasbourg. With Michael Sattler, who already at Zürich in November 1525 had taken the opposite Anabaptist side, Haetzer had a conversation which ended in disagreement. In a debate between Martin Cellarius-Borrhaus and Denk he sided with the latter. When Denk was expelled from Strasbourg on December 23, 1526, Haetzer, who was suspected by the reformers of Strasbourg of being a secret Anabaptist and a friend of Denk, remained. But when new disturbances took place in the middle of January 1527 caused by the news of the death of Manz, he became involved in a quarrel with the city preachers concerning Zwingli's attitude. He left the city voluntarily, following his friend Denk to Worms. A letter of farewell to Capito[12] assures Capito of his forgiveness and arranges for the disposal of his possessions.

In Worms Haetzer co-operated with Denk in the translation of the Prophets, which appeared on April 13, 1527, published by the printer Peter Schöffer under the title *Alle Propheten, nach der hebräischen Sprache verdeutscht.* The sharp foreword of April[13]

11 Reprinted in Staehelin, *op. cit.*, I, No. 419, pp. 572 f.

12 Reprinted in Röhrich, 459 f.

13 Reprinted in G. Baring, "Die Wormser Propheten," *Archiv f. Reformationsgeschichte* XXXI (1934) 34-41.

shows Haetzer to have been the chief translator and gives Denk the rank of an important co-operator. This volume, which was often reprinted in the following years, was the first translation of the Prophets of the Reformation period, which fact gives a good testimonial to the philological training of the author. The Zürich translation of 1529 used the Denk-Haetzer edition more than did the Luther translation of 1532. Meanwhile an Anabaptist congregation was also formed in Worms, which came to public attention on June 9, 1527, through the articles of Jakob Kautz. The extent of Haetzer's co-operation in the establishment of the congregation is not entirely clear. After a futile attempt by the council to settle the matter the leaders were expelled. Denk and Haetzer had just previously left the city.

Again Haetzer went to Strasbourg. An attempted reconciliation with Capito failed, because in the meantime Haetzer's misstep in Basel had become known. In August he met Denk in Ulm and with him traveled to Augsburg. During the "Anabaptist Martyr Synod" of August 1527 he stayed in the city, but did not participate in the meeting. He was acquainted with Hans Hut, and probably had during these weeks also a meeting with Casper Schwenckfeld, at least according to a report by the latter. Even before the beginning of the persecution in Augsburg, Haetzer, and probably also Denk, had left for Donauwörth. From there they reached Nürnberg, where Hans Schlaffer saw them together; then their ways parted. About September 1, Haetzer, according to a statement by Jörg Dorsch, was in Wiebelsheim in Franconia. At the end of October 1527 he was in Regensburg and took part in the establishment of the local Anabaptist congregation. Here he baptized four persons; this is the only information in the sources that he ever baptized anyone. Even before November 15 he had left the city and returned to Augsburg, probably by way of Nürnberg. Here he seems to have spent the winter; an old bit of information says that he left Augsburg in April 1528 when the new Anabaptist persecutions began. Then his trace is completely lost. He probably returned to his home in Bischofszell, in order to devote himself in peace to his literary plans. In the winter of 1527-28 he seems also to have married. His wife was Appolonia, a maid in the house of George Regel, who had been baptized as an Anabaptist.

Haetzer's relationship with Anabaptism is not quite clear. He certainly never belonged to the Biblicistic congregationalistic wing of the Swiss Brethren. After his residence in Strasbourg and through his friendship with Denk he had close connections with the spiritual-

istic wing, which predominated in South Germany. He never worked as an Anabaptist, nor promoted Anabaptist teaching, with the exception of the baptisms in Regensburg. In his later writings the problem of baptism plays no role. Also in his trial at Constance no charge of Anabaptism is mentioned. Until new hitherto unknown sources make a different judgment necessary he will have to be considered as only a marginal personality in the early Anabaptist movement. During the latter years of his life he was a Spiritualist who sought refuge in Anabaptism because he was in disagreement with ecclesiastical parties.

As a continuation of the translation of the Prophets, there appeared in the spring of 1528, published by Schöffer, a translation of part of the Apocrypha: *Baruch der Prophet, Die Historie Susannas, die Historie vom Bel zu Babel, alles neulich aus der Bibel verdeutscht.* Sebastian Franck, who probably was personally acquainted with him, reported that Haetzer had also begun a translation of the apocryphal book of Jesus Sirach, but this was never printed; the Baruch book was the only completed part of the planned translation of the entire Apocrypha. The foreword attempts to justify the publication of apocryphal books and attacks the conception of the canon held by the reformers. In opposition to the doctrine of the Scriptures held by the Reformation, Haetzer now manifests an extreme spiritualism which would devaluate the external word in the form of Scripture and preaching in favor of the immediate witness of the Spirit. Faith now appears as an inner experience. Apocalyptic expressions are now found more frequently. In choice of words and formulation of thought mystic influences are unmistakable. There are evidences of the influence of Denk and also of Hut.

Also the edition of the *Theologia Deutsch,* which was printed by Schöffer with the title *Theologia Deutsch, neulich mit grossem Fleiss korrigiert und gebessert . . . ,* was probably worked over by Haetzer, as his motto, "O Gott, erlös die Gefangenen," at the end of the book indicates. The attached *Hauptreden* probably come from Denk, who died in November 1527. Through Denk Haetzer probably became acquainted with the *Theologia Deutsch* and thereby also with mysticism.

One other writing of Haetzer's must have appeared in print, which has, however, not yet been found. It bears the title *Reime, bzw. Lieder unter dem Kreuzgang,* and was no doubt a collection of songs with mystical thought content. The only known fragment,[14]

14 Text according to Franck in Goeters, *op. cit.*

which ridicules the church doctrine of the Trinity, indicates close contact with Chapter XXX of the *Theologia Deutsch.*

Haetzer wrote two other booklets which were not printed. The one was called by his contemporaries "the booklet of the schoolteachers" and was apparently directed against all learned scholarship.[15] Of greater importance is the other writing, "the booklet of Christ." In it he seems to have attacked the deity of Christ and to have established his doctrinal view with citations from the Bible. Other indications of the content are lacking, but his contemporaries unanimously called Haetzer an Arian. Any doubt of this seems to be unfounded since in his early writing on Christological matters there is a conspicuous haziness. The stress always lies on the human appearance of Christ. Both manuscripts fell into the hands of his opponents at his trial and were later destroyed.

In the middle of November 1528 Augsburg demanded that the Council of Constance arrest Haetzer. This could at first not be carried out because the man sought was no longer in the city, but on November 28 Haetzer was finally arrested. Inquiries were sent to Zürich, Basel, Strasbourg, and Worms, which show that he was accused of breaking the peace and of an immoral life. Only from Strasbourg did a reply come, which revealed the misstep mentioned above. And so the charge of instigation of disturbance of the peace was dropped and the trial concentrated on the charge of immoral conduct. In Augsburg it was asserted that he had taken as his wife the wife of George Regel, Anna née Manlich, although he himself was already married, and had received from her a wedding ring and some financial loans. He had therefore caused Anna Regel to commit adultery and had injured George Regel in body and possessions. All this he was said to have justified with pseudotheological reasoning. Nevertheless the trial came to a rapid conclusion. In December Augsburg sent Dr. Gerson Sailer as the prosecutor to Constance. Sailer for the first time brought Haetzer's writings with him, which showed Haetzer to be a teacher of error. Here especially "the booklet concerning Christ" is to be thought of. Finally on February 3, 1529, he was sentenced to death for adultery.

Much remains unclarified concerning this trial. The court records of Augsburg on this matter are still unknown; they might perhaps reveal the background. Many contemporaries cite Haetzer's Christological errors as the reason for the death sentence. It is conspicuous that Anna Regel was not summoned. Nor was George

15 A short summary of the content, according to Johann Gast, *Exordium,* in Goeters, op. cit.

Regel, the husband concerned, the plaintiff; but instead the Augsburg council. Just at this time Regel seemed to have been reestablishing himself in Augsburg. The death sentence is quite unusual. Persons guilty of adultery at this time in Constance were punished with fines and imprisonment. One is involuntarily inclined to assume that the intention was, under the charge of adultery, actually to remove the teacher of error.

To undertake to clear Haetzer entirely from the charge of immoral conduct is a futile undertaking. The misstep in Basel has been well attested. Also he seems to have made a confession in Constance. In Augsburg he met frequently with Anna Regel, and one of his songs contains her maiden name as an acrostic. Anna Regel also seems not to have led an altogether blameless life, as one can gather from a letter written to her in 1543 by Schwenckfeld.

Haetzer's death walk on February 4, 1529, has the effect of reconciling the spectator with the unfortunate end of his life. Composed and reconciled he went to the site of execution, upon which already a John Hus had died, admonishing those present in moving addresses. Then his head fell under the executioner's sword. Anabaptist historical tradition counts him among its martyrs. Thomas Blaurer, the councilor of Constance, described his end in an epistle to Wilhelm von Zell, Haetzer's friend, entitled, "How Ludwig Haetzer, executed with a sword at Constance, departed out of this time," published at Constance by Görg Spitzenberg in 1529.[16]

Haetzer was one of the outstanding composers of song, whose compositions found their way into early Anabaptist hymnology. The following of his songs have been preserved for the most part in Hutterite records and later served other poets as a model.[17]

(1) "Erzürn dich nit, O frommer Christ." This is a rhymed version of Psalm 37 in 23 stanzas, probably written in Haetzer's later years.

(2) "Gedult sollst han auf Gottes Bahn." Three stanzas with the acrostic: *Gedult bringt Erfahrung* (Romans 5:4a), also probably from Haetzer's later years. A fourth stanza in the Hutterite version on Romans 5:5a is a later addition. Both songs have been taken into church hymnals.

(3) "Lug, Herr, wie schwach ist mein Gemüt." Six stanzas with the acrostic: *Lu-de-wi-g Haets-er,* surely from the time of his imprisonment shortly before his death. A seventh stanza in the Hutterite version is an addition.

16 Reprinted in M. Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer,* IV *Baden und Pfalz* (Gütersloh, 1951) No. 467, pp. 460-68.

17 R. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (Berlin, 1903) 12 ff.

(4) "Ach Gott, erhör mein Seufzen gross." Three stanzas with the acrostic: *A-na Manlich,* probably coming from the same period.

(5) "Will', Sinn und Gmüt richt auf zu Gott." Four stanzas with the acrostic: *Will-helm von Zell,* probably a poetic version of Zell's letter to the imprisoned Haetzer. The genuine fifth stanza gives Haetzer's reply to the letter and comes from the time of his imprisonment shortly before his death.

(6) "Die Lieb' ist kalt jetzt in der Welt." In the *Ausbund* it is attributed to Leopold Scharnschlager; in the Hutterite tradition it is however ascribed to Haetzer. It has seven stanzas, of which two to six are a rhymed version of I Corinthians 13:4-8, with many allusions to Haetzer's writings of 1525, for which reason it is concluded that it probably stems from that time and was written by him. Three further stanzas in the Hutterite version are an addition.

(7) "Sollst du bei Gott dein Wohnung han." It is sometimes attributed to Leonhard Schiemer.[18] It has nine stanzas, one to six of which are a poetic revision of a song by Hans Witzstat with the acrostic *Sophia.* There are good reasons for ascribing it to Haetzer; in that case it probably comes from later years of his life. It is also found in church hymnals.

(8) "Ach, frölich lasst uns heben an." In the current version it does not have Haetzer's name, but is ascribed to him by Wolkan because of his motto at the end of the seventeenth stanza. But this is also found in the case of other poets, so that this cannot be considered as proof; in fact the contents seem to indicate the contrary. Compare in this regard also the lost "Lieder unter dem Kreuzgang."

Haetzer's significance does not lie in his historical effectiveness; this is exceedingly slight. He was an industrious translator and author, who was known personally by many important contemporaries, and as the first demonstrable anti-Trinitarian of the German language in the Reformation time he has been preserved from complete oblivion. His martyrdom and his songs have made him useful to the Anabaptists. It is doubtful whether the portrait etched by Christoph van Sichem in 1610 is genuine.

18 *Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, 1914) 28 f. [Translated from German].

BUILDING THE CHURCH AMONG THE TOBA INDIANS

ALBERT BUCKWALTER*

This is the story of what the Spirit of God has done among the Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco; how God has come into their lives as a living reality, taking the central place in their being and integrating their whole life. To complete the picture, the lessons which this very young indigenous church would teach us are also pointed out, as well as our resultant responsibility to her.

Missions today find themselves at the crossroads. Radically new situations are bringing about far-reaching changes in the lives of all peoples the world over. These changes are putting missions on the spot. Some of the older time-tested methods are fast becoming unworkable. New methods must now be brought forth to meet the challenge. The establishment of the indigenous church is the order of the day. It is no longer a far distant goal to be sought for, but a very present either-or proposition. The indigenous church must be established now—or else. We see this in what is taking place. Less than five years ago, the young Chinese churches were suddenly wrested by the communist invasion from the hands of the many foreign mission boards which had founded them. Almost overnight, these young churches were on their own to sink or swim. These last few years have brought forth in India as well a new situation in which the foreign missionaries are slowly but surely being eliminated by the forces of nationalism, and many are not allowed to return. Here the young church also is being forced to try its own wings. Now in the Chaco a somewhat similar transition has taken place, only there we might say that the Holy Spirit wrested the church from the hands of foreign missionaries! This may sound rather strange, but I believe it is a faithful representation of the facts.

In order to understand appreciatively any church, wherever it may be, it is always necessary to have a review of its historical setting. Since the historical setting of the Toba church is radically different from that of our North American Mennonite church, it is all the more important that we consider this setting in its relationship to the Toba church. Thus, we should be enabled to come to a deeper appreciation of the church among the Tobas and a fuller understanding of why she is as she is.

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The Toba Way of Life

While the Reformation in Europe was just getting under way, the earliest Spanish explorers were making their first contacts with the hardy tribes which inhabited the South American Chaco region. One of these tribes was the Toba, which later became notorious for its fierce attacks against the inroads of the white man. Life at that time was carried on in the great out-of-doors, hunting wild animals and collecting wild fruits in the forests, fishing in the streams, scraping skins to make themselves clothing, and building crude temporary shelters to protect themselves from inclement weather and from marauding beasts.

Though the Catholic Church has had missions among them from the very first, apparently the Tobas have learned nothing of Christianity from that source. However, Catholic missions introduced the horse as a beast of burden, as well as the diseases of Europe against which the Indians had no immunity. Angered by the terrible death toll taken by such diseases as smallpox, the Tobas mounted their newly acquired horses and began the long fight to drive out the invaders. Besides effectively holding the invaders at bay, they were now able to outrun the wild game upon which they depended for existence. The result was a depletion of the food supply, so that life became more and more precarious with time.

In the late nineteenth century, when colonists began to push into the region bringing with them large herds of cattle, the Indians found it easy to turn upon these cattle for their sustenance. The resultant conflict between colonists and Indians lasted until perhaps a decade ago. From time to time punitive raids were conducted against the Indians, until finally in 1924 the Tobas gave up, never to fight back again. The Tobas then entered a new era in their existence, the era of attempted adaptation to the norms of the white man, an era of disintegration of Toba life. With this brief historical background in mind, we will now examine certain features of Toba life which are especially relevant to the understanding of present-day Christianity among these people.

The 13,000 to 15,000 Tobas remaining today live on their own land in widely scattered colonies. A Toba colony is a "semi-sedentary, small-scale agricultural settlement consisting of a number of extended families working individually and co-operatively and recognizing themselves as a distinctive social and political entity." The extended family, which is basic in Toba life, consists of a father and mother, their children with their spouses, and their children's chil-

dren. If anyone of the great-grandparents is still living, he will also be included, making it a four-generation spread. This unit of family life tends to hang together, but in modern times it is somewhat falling apart due to reduced land holdings and other social factors. A colony consists of several of these extended families living in the same locality, with one elderly man of a somewhat dominating personality as the recognized chief.

Most Indian families have their own little cotton farms, but they also find it necessary to hire themselves out to the surrounding white farmers in order to make a living. When the first money comes in from harvest, it is quickly spent for food, new clothing, and a portion of it enables the men to make a trip to other colonies to visit relatives. This social and spiritual drive is naturally at cross-purposes with their expressed purpose of being good farmers, and gives the impression to us rank materialists that they are lazy and shiftless, when that is not true. The Toba Indian will expend tremendous energy in realizing his social and spiritual goals, as over against the amount of attention he gives to economic pursuits. For instance, I have taken part in religious exercises which have lasted five hours into the night, in which I felt so exhausted that I thought I had to quit. They thought nothing of it! They would have every reason to accuse us of going to absurd lengths in economic pursuits, while being lazy and shiftless in our spiritual life!

Political control groups itself around chiefs whose jurisdiction may be over as few as fifty people or as many as four or five thousand. Each small political unit is made up of interrelated extended families, while the larger political units are bound together by other considerations. Every Toba father is a potential, if not real, chief, his jurisdiction being over all his descendants. Let us take a look at this Toba chief. As seen by explorers, he was the man who led in hunting expeditions, and who acted as the buffer in all intertribal disputes. Since hunting is no longer the way of life, he has now taken an altogether different role. He must now make frequent trips to the big city to meet the white man's chief to plead the case of his hungry people back home, whether it be for tools and farm equipment or for assurance that the land will not be taken away from them. Though returning from these trips ever so poor, he is lauded as his people's savior, because he has had the courage to champion his people. Consequently, most chiefs are highly respected and loved by their people. Their influence in the life of the individual can be felt in all that the latter does. Their leadership is much preferred to that of the white man.

It must be observed, however, that the Toba chief is no dictator. He keeps his ear to the ground, gathering group opinion, before he finally comes forth with his plan of action. So, in spirit, Toba life is quite democratic, though to the outsider seeming to be otherwise.

The job of the chief also includes his acting as a buffer between his people and the white farmers who surround them on every side. In recent times before the coming of Christianity, his job was doubly difficult, because of the struggle between the Indians and the whites. He had his people's well-being at heart, yet the law enforcement officers of the white men brought pressure to bear upon him to make his people quit stealing the many cattle which roved at liberty over their land. This put the chief into an all but overwhelming dilemma, a fact which cannot be overemphasized in its relationship to the coming of Christianity to the Tobas.

An understanding of the present-day church among the Tobas is not possible apart from a consideration of the function of the witch doctor in the thinking of the Toba. Toba culture is at present poverty-stricken in ceremonialism. This was not so in the past. Formerly ceremonialism expressed itself in chanting, singing, and dancing, aimed at curbing some malevolent power, or manipulating supernatural powers for direct benefit of men. This was done mostly in connection with the healing of the body. The central figure in this ceremony was, of course, the witch doctor. He was entitled to this position because of having inherited the power, or from having received it through a lone spirit quest which he had made to the woods. In curing a disease, the main part of the ritual was the constant singing and chanting of unintelligible sounds.

Though this sounds unscientific to us, it is quite reasonable to the Toba, for it is based upon his idea of the origin of disease. To the Toba, disease is caused by intrusion in which another person is to blame. The only way to cure such sickness is through the powerful operations of the witch doctor who, with the spirit power that he has been given, drives out the malignancy put there by someone else. Toba cures have a psychological value which we with our scientific medical knowledge do not receive. The patient is constantly surrounded by his relatives, bent upon helping in the cure by singing and dancing. The patient is thus conscious that all who are dear to him would have him restored to health. These ceremonies go on for days when necessary.

What conditions obtained as Christianity broke upon Toba-land?

1. The Toba will to elaborate and to defend his own way of life

was shattered at the 1924 uprising. The Tobas were finally convinced of their incapability to win. A new attitude of dependence came into vogue. The ruling idea became: this old way of life is no good; we must become farmers; we must be like the other people; we can no longer live like our wild and unclothed grandparents; that is no way to live!

2. Toba ceremonial organization had been sloughed off to the barest minimum, leaving emptiness and spiritual void.

3. A semblance of social organization remained, however. This had served to preserve intact the Toba language in spite of the adoption of Spanish as a second language. The institution of chief has remained also, though highly altered in the responsibilities required of this office. The power and influence of the chief is possibly less than it used to be.

The Toba Form of Christianity

With this very sketchy review of Toba life before us, we are now ready to observe the coming of Christianity to this literally untouched people. When did Christianity come to Tobaland? About twenty years ago at the earliest. In the middle 1930's the Tobas heard Pentecostal preachers in the cities of Formosa and Resistencia along the Parana River to the east. During the late 1930's an English mission was founded on the northwestern fringe of Tobaland. About ten years later this mission was closed by government action. In 1943, the Mennonite Church established a mission on the southwestern fringe of Tobaland. Our mission is frankly the only one which is at present taking seriously the spiritual life of the Toba Indians. With these various influences in mind which we see were brought to bear upon this people called Toba, it will be interesting to observe what has come out of it.

What is the form of Christianity which found acceptance to the Tobas? In a word it is Pentecostalism. If we think back to the empty house which Christianity found in Tobaland, it can easily be seen why Pentecostalism fit best into that house, why it was welcomed with open arms. In the past two decades this expression of Christianity has had phenomenal growth in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. For the most part it has found its adherents among the poorer classes of people, and has never looked to foreigners for its motivation, but rather it has been self-propagating. To many this is not an ideal movement, but the fact remains that it has preached the Gospel in a prodigious fashion. It is characterized by a strong emphasis on Gospel preaching and the visible manifestations of the Holy Spirit. And

of course, it places much emphasis upon the healing of the sick. Likewise, it is not averse to the use of whatever musical medium is available to add to the worship service.

Putting this movement alongside of the Tobas with their spiritual hunger born of a complex of factors which were slowly but surely disintegrating their very life, the result was certain: it took hold. And be sure to remember this: Pentecostal missionaries did not go out to stay with the Indians and learn their language to get the point across, as the English missionaries had done and we Mennonites are doing. The Indians went to the cities where the Pentecostal preachers were, caught the message, and went back home to proclaim it everywhere.

Why did the Tobas spurn our philanthropic efforts while accepting Pentecostalism with open arms? Perhaps these facts will help us answer the question. Some features of the original Toba culture have persisted in spite of the pressures which have served to disintegrate so much of the former life. For instance, the individual spirit quest, a strong concern for healing of the body in a spiritual manner, chanting, and to a lesser extent, dancing, have continued. But they were losing meaning and leaving life empty and without purpose. These forms, then, which were fast becoming meaningless, became the very foundation upon which the new life took root.

The Tobas will appeal to Scripture references to support their form of worship, and many of them are against exaggerated bodily movements during worship as the practice is in some more isolated areas. People are urged to seek the Holy Spirit. Manifestations of having received the Holy Spirit are likewise no new idea to the Toba, so that speaking in tongues is convincing to any Toba. Singing has taken a place in worship of much greater importance than music has to us. Hymns are sung in Spanish, and repeated so often that everybody from the children on up to the oldest can sing them by memory, even though many do not understand the words. To sum it up, the old forms became re-evaluated and reoriented to the new idea.

Here we then hasten to ask: Do the Tobas understand the Gospel message? In order to get an answer we must observe them. That which we can observe taking place in Toba life is really the valid testimony of an inner work of grace. We first ask: Have they understood the idea of the cross? The cross stands for self-giving sacrifice. The Tobas can put us to shame in putting this idea into practical life. Besides, I have seen too many Tobas weep over the communion cup to think lightly of their understanding of the sacrifice which Jesus Christ made for their sins. We also ask: Do they have a sense

of salvation from sin? Just ask them, and observe them. Also, you might go and ask their white neighbors about these people. The united testimony is that they certainly have changed. The tavern keeper will tell you that hardly any Indians do business with him any more. The colonists will say that their cattle are no longer being molested. The policeman will report that seldom does he have difficulty with the Indians, while with the whites he is always busy. The Indians are quite conscious of this radical change in their own lives, and will testify that it is Jesus Christ who has changed them.

By what door did the message enter to the Tobas? Interestingly enough, it began with the chiefs. From the very first the chief has been the key man in the acceptance of Christianity. He saw in this new thing the panacea for all his dilemmas. Here was the Bible, the legal authority, which prohibited those things which his people were doing which caused him so much trouble with the white man's police. Why not be the first to align himself with this thing which he was sure he and his people needed? Therefore he had the church built, usually close to his own dwelling. The centrality of the chief in the acceptance of Christianity cannot be overemphasized, for in those communities where the chief has resisted, the whole population has also rejected the message. Such communities are few, though numerous enough to prove that the rule is an absolute one.

The most influential chief among the Tobas went about in some areas and saw to it that other churches were established by lesser chiefs, and that the proper preachers, singers, treasurers, and other church officers were appointed. Many aberrations occurred in the early days, which have since been corrected to a surprising degree by the sheer force of group opinion brought to bear upon the situation. For instance, many of the early preachers were not worthy of their profession, but as occurs in any indigenous church which is growing in an understanding of the Gospel, these men became discredited and today can no longer gain a hearing. The present-day preachers are an admirable group of devoted Christians.

These churches which were established became the new symbol of unity, and people flocked into them by the thousands. The worship service was characterized by much singing, prayer, and some dancing. Preaching has its place, too, much of which is in the form of testimonies of what God has done for the individual. As to the dancing, at present there are some who discredit the exaggerated bodily movements which are practiced in some areas; but true to Toba fashion, the best thinkers among the preachers will say that we must have patience, that this will gradually die of itself in due time.

Within all this new ceremonialism which has gripped the Toba, you will find the Bible. As can be expected, it is used much as a charm, just as you can see here in the United States in the churches. Such a magical attitude toward the Bible is much less justifiable here than there, considering the fact that most of them cannot even read. What *is* the difference between carrying a New Testament in the shirt pocket in going out to battle, and the Toba custom of placing a Bible under the pillow when sick? In spite of taking the Bible as a charm, it is considered the ultimate court of appeal, the highest authority in all religious matters. And it is their desire to grow in the knowledge of its contents.

The healing rite is an integral part of the worship service. All those who are sick are prayed for during every worship service, and the hymn, "The Great Physician Now Is Near," is sung in Spanish over and over many times. This healing is considered by the Toba to be entirely distinct from the rite as it is carried on by the witch doctor. In fact, many have openly rejected the witch doctor in favor of the Christian healing service. That the person prayed for is not healed instantaneously, as seems to be the feat attempted in such rites among some North American Pentecostals, apparently does not bother the Toba in the least. When the sick person recovers, it is agreed by all that he has been healed through the prayer of faith. Innumerable Tobas have been converted to Christianity through some loving friends' having performed this rite for them. It is frequently practiced in the home of the sick person, especially if he is quite ill. There the family gathers around, joining in singing and prayer for extended hours of time. The leaders of the church are always called in to help in the service, as well as certain elderly men and women of the church. In all this, they always give the credit to God for the recovery of the individual.

Let it be mentioned also, that when it is possible the sick person will seek medical aid in addition to the procedure described above.

A Work of the Spirit

This is a hurried picture of the Toba people who have been remade by the coming of Christ into their midst. Though our mission would have molded them over our own pattern if we could have, we were powerless before a clear-cut case of God's Spirit taking hold of a people and making something of them according to His will. It was not easy for me to arrive at the place where I now am, where I can talk appreciatively of my brethren, the Toba Christians. But God spoke unmistakably to my heart many times. Then the tenth

chapter of Acts took on an altogether new and real meaning to me. Through the strange experience related here the Spirit of God led the Apostle Peter down a road at the end of which he, a Jew, commanded that a large group of Gentiles should be baptized and received into the church. The deciding factor in his taking the responsibility for doing such a strange new thing in the young Christian church was that the Holy Spirit showed Himself to have fallen upon these people as well. Thus the Holy Spirit demonstrated at the very founding of the church that He will guide it. That is exactly what He has demonstrated among the Toba Indians. The overwhelming testimony of the experience we have been taken through in the Chaco is that the Holy Spirit is not bound to man's designs.

Lessons

Permit me to outline briefly some of the lessons which the Toba Indian church teaches us.

First, that we must not have preconceived notions as to the limits within which God must work. When God saves a man, He saves him where he is. God does not lift him out of his skin and drop him down into the skin of someone else. The presence of myriad variations within the Christian church at large is modern testimony to this fact. In the time of Christ we hear Jesus Himself giving testimony to this truth. In Luke 9:49 and 50 we have John reporting to Jesus in alarm, "Master, we saw a man casting out demons in your name, and we forbade him, because he does not follow with us." But Jesus said to him, "Do not forbid him; for he that is not against you is for you." Thus the younger churches, as our missions are coming to be called, will teach us that the Christian church at large will be as varied as men are varied—no two alike. However, of this we can be assured: that the Holy Spirit will, through the Word, make the local application of the message within each way of life.

Secondly, the Toba Indian church teaches us that the people of a particular way of life are the best qualified under the direction of God's Spirit to make the application of the Gospel message to that way of life. The Tobas merely needed to be told the message of salvation. They knew that it was for them. Individuals took the message everywhere, winning others to Christ, with hardly any foreign direction. The Gospel became an integral part of Toba life from the very beginning. Where we Mennonites were located, the Gospel did indeed take hold; but the native expression of it was not allowed to come to the surface, though it was most certainly hidden there in a suppressed state. When we of the missionary staff finally arrived at

the place where we were ready by faith to turn the whole thing over to the working of the Spirit of God, a profound revival gripped the life of the church. The young people who formerly were content to stand outside the church and blow their cigarette smoke in through the cracks in the walls in order to annoy the believers have now come inside and are being converted from their sins and added to the church.

In matters concerning the application of the Gospel to life, a foreigner cannot ever quite get to the place where he can be trusted to make wise decisions for his converts. For, if he is so bold as to say to his converts that "This is the way a Christian must do it," or "No Christian would be seen like this," he will soon discover that compliance with the wishes of the missionary is nothing but sheer hypocrisy, and as such, is thwarting the very message he would proclaim.

Thus, let us Mennonites have a greater faith in the workings of God in the lives of other people, just as Peter, who when he followed the leading of the Spirit found himself instrumental in bringing salvation to people outside the realm of Jewish Christian thought.

Our Responsibility

At this point we must take a look at our responsibility to the Toba Indian church. Of course, there is that over-all responsibility included in the Great Commission which Christ gave to His disciples. But aside from that, let me mention three responsibilities, two of which are concerned with our own attitudes toward the Toba Indian.

Our first responsibility, then, is that we appreciate Toba culture. Our greatest errors in our work, and our greatest sins committed against the Toba Indians were caused by a lack of appreciation of the Toba way of life. We came to the Tobas with the assumption that Toba culture was too "uncivilized" to merit any serious respect. We had the idea that we were there to tell them how to live. When their children were disobedient we suggested they should be punished by our method. It never occurred to us that Toba parents wanted to raise little Toba Indians, and not little North American youngsters who would be like fish out of water in a Toba environment. We had not paid close enough attention to see that the rod, which we thought was being spared, was defined differently in a different cultural pattern. Toba parents effectively withhold love to gain the ends which they have in view. And quite naturally, little Tobas all grow up to be big Tobas, just as the parents desire!

Last year in April, we began to fulfill this responsibility of appreciating Toba culture. The Mennonite-dominated section of the

Toba church was in a sad state of affairs: no life, no vitality, nothing of an encouraging nature. To us the Toba church seemed to be so far from the kingdom of God that we hardly dared to make a comparison. Besides, a mere handful of Indians, who had through the years received the bulk of our mission's philanthropic attention, were moody, unhappy, and increasingly un-co-operative. Many were the times we longed to get away from it all and start over again somewhere else.

Thank God we didn't leave it, but through contact with Dr. E. A. Nida of the American Bible Society we were able to obtain the help of Dr. William D. Reyburn[1] and his wife. I can truthfully say that were it not for the help these humble friends gave to us in their five months' mission, I would not have the courage to stand up here and even mention the Chaco. The contribution which this couple made stands as a springboard to a new era in our mission to the Tobas. It marks the dividing line between frustration and hope, between failure and a limitless future. We were shown that the first step in any foreign work is necessarily the appreciation of that culture. Of course, this is a direct blow at the North American ego. How can one appreciate another culture unless he ceases to be convinced of his own innate superiority? The remedy for this kind of thinking is to simply throw the whole business before God and listen to what He has to say about cultures, or man's works, if you please. He labels it all as filthy rags. As far as God is concerned, it doesn't make a bit of difference whether you are a college graduate or a Toba Indian. There is only one way to make things right with Him. It is through Jesus Christ, His Son.

Therefore, in order to appreciate Toba culture, there is only one way to accomplish it: sink yourself into it. This is our responsibility. What would you think of the foreign student who wants to learn to know intimately the American way of life but refuses to eat our food or to sleep in our beds? You would rightly question his motives. Well, Tobas are psychologists also. And they refer to a person as "delicate" who shows any signs of sluggishness in getting close to them.

Our second responsibility to the Toba church is concerned with the written record which we have of divine revelation: the Bible. We must unveil this treasure which lies bound up in a language which is used by the Toba only as he contacts the white man. In all his adap-

1 The author wishes to express his indebtedness for help in the preparation of this article to William D. Reyburn, "The Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco; An Interpretive Report." (Elkhart, Indiana, 1954)

tation to the white man, the Toba apparently prefers his own mother tongue. That's the language of his soul. It is in that language that he meets his God.

Dr. Reyburn's work in reducing the Toba language to writing has put within our hands a tool with which we can unlock the treasures of the Bible. We have already begun. A booklet of ten short Bible stories in diglot form (Spanish and Toba) is now circulating in all of Tobaland. It has been prepared especially with the young men in mind who have a rudimentary reading knowledge in Spanish. The fact is, that with a bare minimum of instruction many young men are now reading these stories with comparative ease while the rest of the family, both young and old, listen attentively in wide-eyed amazement. We have thus started something which could easily occupy all the time of several missionaries: making new Biblical material continuously available. The people are thrilled about this innovation.

The ultimate aim in literature production and in literacy is that the Word of God might be translated into Toba speech. This again could easily occupy one missionary full-time. With this tool of literacy in our hands we can then more effectively train the church's many preachers and workers within the Toba environment, and thus make Christian education a reality in the Toba church. It is generally understood that the present-day task of missions focuses itself largely upon the preparation of the national worker. Without trained workers, the Toba church might crumble beneath her own weight. The blind cannot lead the blind; they must be given sight.

Lastly, our responsibility to the Toba church is that we have faith in her. This does *not* mean that we have faith in a human thing; but it *does* mean that we have faith to believe that the Spirit of God will work His most holy will through her. "The church—if she is a church—is not a temporal, passing show which in one decade makes or misses its mark. In a sense 'she' is in time, but yet timeless —eternal—invincible. She may not always be 'on time,' yet God works with and in the material that comes to Him. He makes it, molds it, and gives it the function and operation according to His good pleasure. That is His prerogative—the church is His, not ours. 'This is my body,' He said."

The facts indicated that our three Mennonite Toba churches could and would manage their own affairs, if we would but allow them to. Courageously, we announced our decision to our Toba brethren, almost doubting the strength of the church. Their response to this new opportunity, this new demonstration of confidence in

them, was overwhelming. The Christian Toba leaders were willing and ready to shoulder the responsibilities which God has given them. Our function as missionaries then became automatically that of Bible teachers. It is in that role that we fit best into Toba life. God is already blessing this new relationship, and we have confidence to believe He will continue to bless it. We Mennonites need to bow before the Almighty in humble realization that God truly does work in many varied ways His wonders to perform. The Spirit of God is not bound.

DAVID A. SCHNECK'S NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE SONNENBERG (OHIO) SWISS MENNONITE CONGREGATION

John Umble*

The following account of the founding and subsequent history of the first Swiss Mennonite settlements in Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri was preserved by a layman, David A. Schneck (1858-1943), who was baptized at Sonnenberg, Wayne County, Ohio, by Elder (or Bishop) Christian Sommer on Good Friday, 1877. Schneck was of above average intelligence and took a keen interest in the affairs of his congregation. He had learned to write shorthand in German and kept a verbatim record of many of the business meetings of the congregation in a day when no written records of such meetings were considered necessary. He also owned and used a typewriter. He preserved these unofficial records in loose-leaf notebooks from which the following historical account was copied and translated by the present writer. The notebook contained not only this historical record but also a list of burials in the Sonnenberg cemetery, a list of names of members baptized into the Sonnenberg congregation with the name of the officiating elder, and an alphabetical list of the marriages including the date and the name of the officiating elder.

David A. Schneck always was active in the work of the Sonnenberg congregation. When Bishop Christian Sommer organized the first permanent Sunday school at Sonnenberg in the spring of 1887, he earnestly insisted that Schneck should be one of his teachers. Schneck offered every excuse until the aged bishop pleaded: "I have reared you like a child in my family. Surely you will not be disobedient." Deeply touched, he accepted the assignment and served as a teacher continuously for nearly fifty years. Schneck was progressive and forward-looking. Although it was a bitter experience for him to leave the old Sonnenberg congregation, he joined the 330 members who seceded from the old church to found the Kidron Mennonite congregation organized under the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference in 1936. The bishops of the Conference designated Schneck's residence as a meeting place for the discussion of certain problems of the new organization. At that meeting the group accepted A. W. Sommer's offer of the use of the Kidron Tabernacle as a temporary meeting place after it had been refused the joint use of the old Sonnenberg meetinghouse.

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Schneck was elected historian of the Kidron congregation at the first business meeting in the Kidron Church on December 27, 1937. His record continues with a detailed account of the new organization to the baptismal service conducted by A. J. Steiner in the new Kidron Mennonite Church on July 16, 1939.

Schneck's manuscript is significant for the light it sheds on the early settlement and subsequent history of the Swiss Mennonite congregations in America.

An Account of the Sonnenberg Swiss Mennonite Church, How It Began, etc.

Since in the beginning of this congregation, and also later, no complete record was kept of those who were received into the church as well as marriages and deaths, I could not find out all the dates or the number up to the year 1872. But from that date I have kept a complete record. And from other brethren in our congregation I have received manuscript records regarding the manner and the date of the beginning of this congregation and also whence and why the first settlers came.

We learn from the *Bloody Theatre* or *Martyrs' Mirror*[1] almost at the end of the book how the persecution of the nonresistant Christians continued in Bern and Zurich until the year 1671, namely, against those who did not approve swearing of oaths, infant baptism, etc. As we can find in this book, they banished them from the country, robbed them of their property. Accordingly they were compelled to flee in the direst poverty into the Palatinate, into Alsace, and into the diocese up on the mountains where they found a measure of toleration or brief respite. However, it was stipulated that they should not reside in the villages and buy no land but only to till the uncultivated mountains as renters.

But here also the enemy was active. They brought accusations to the prince that the Mennonites were harmful to the country. Then the prince issued an order that the Mennonites must leave the country. What mourning and weeping this awakened is easy to imagine.

For additional information I insert here word for word a letter by an eighty-eight-year-old elder and bishop who emigrated from Switzerland to America in 1835 and lived here at Sonnenberg for three years. After that he moved to the state of Indiana with several of his children. A congregation was soon founded there. In the closing years of his life this old bishop wrote the following letter to his son at Sonnenberg.

Adams County, Indiana, January 25, 1853

This is the day that I begin my eighty-ninth year. To my son David. To you and yours and to aquaintances I wish the unending love of God and the grace of Jesus together with the illumination of the Holy Spirit—a friendly love-greeting. Amen.

I have often thought of writing to you but scarcely knew what. Since I cannot work much, I have so much the more time to recall the past. And since I remember back eighty years and have an oral account of forty years from my parents and pious old people of the condi-

1 Reference here is to *The Bloody Theater or Martyrs' Mirror of the Defenseless Christians . . . who suffered and died for the testimony of Jesus, their Saviour, from the time of Christ to the year 1660.* David Schneck's copy probably was of the third German edition printed in Philadelphia in 1849 or the fourth German edition printed in Elkhart in 1870.

tion of our congregation and have considered the great difference between the past and the present, the thought comes, what will finally be. For if it continues for one hundred years more as it has in the past, very little will be left except the outward formality, very little of the life that is of God.

I hasten on to write to you about what I have undertaken, namely, how our forefathers came into the diocese.[2] When the persecution in Berne continued many emigrated to where they found freedom where many of them still remain. But they lived quietly and retired and were satisfied if they had food and shelter, but the enemy appeared here too. They were slandered as if they were harmful to the country. He brought it to the point where the prince issued an order that the Mennonites or Anabaptists should leave the country. The date was already set when they must leave. My step-mother has told me that she was working for people on the Münsterberg[3] who told her how the people were in grief and depression. They no longer worked but wept and prayed, did not know what to do or where to go. Then an acquaintance of some consequence became interested in them and went in person to the prince to intercede for them and said that these people were not harmful to the country but rather useful. For in his district there was much land which one could not cultivate with a plow. "But these people," he said, "work it with hoes and plant grain from which we receive the tenth. Besides they cultivate our estates well and pay their rent promptly so that we also prosper better," etc. The prince withdrew his order but only out of arbitrariness, with the provision, however, that they could not purchase any land nor hold any leases in the villages but remain in the mountains. So the old man for whom I worked often said that our church was tolerated by caprice. But people were glad and thanked God for it and admonished one another to be quiet and well behaved. And since they had such good freedom the church agreed to show their gratitude and decided that when there would be a new prince they would give him a fine linen cloth to show their appreciation. My father once helped to deliver one. The prince received it with thanks. So much of the external circumstances, now somewhat too of the religious.

I still remember how in my youth when young people wished to unite with the church they announced it quite a while before. The ministers admonished them to pray and requested that the congregation pray for those who wished to unite with the church.[4] When I reached the age I followed this pattern too, but I lacked real conviction. I observed the usual outer forms and believed, as others also did, that this was right. At that time it was customary to pray three times a day. Prayer and thanksgiving days were observed in spring and harvest. Sunday was observed; however at that time there were those who postponed this or that until Sunday. They forgot what Isaiah says in Chap-

2 This diocese, the Bishopric of Basel, was attached to Canton Bern. It is not a part of Canton Basel. (See Delbert Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists*, pp. 98-101.)

3 The Münsterberg (Montagne de Moutier) is located high up in the Jura mountains in the western part of Canton Bern. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this was the center of a Mennonite community of 258 people. In 1852 the congregation lost 100 people who came to America and went immediately to Berne, Indiana. It is now extinct through emigration. (See Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists*, p. 126.)

4 In Switzerland prayer for those who wished to unite with the church seemed all the more necessary on account of the hardships they would endure. Even their names were kept secret in the diocese and baptismal services were conducted at night and in secret. What prudence had dictated in Switzerland was continued in America for a time as a matter of custom. Baptism during the day was first instituted in 1834 by Bishop Peter Schneck.

ter 38 especially in verse 13[5] and Ezekiel in Chapter 20, verses 11 and 12.[6] In the freedom which we enjoyed the young people especially were lighthearted. I was no better, either, but often when Sunday was past my conscience accused me, "You spent Sunday in a poor way." I did not have a long time, however, for in my twenty-fourth year I was ordained to the ministry. Then I had no time to occupy myself with vain things. Then for the first time I realized what it means to enter with Christ through baptism into a covenant in which one vows not to live for himself or in the world but in Him who has released us from the power of Satan. Accordingly we are to walk in a new life. For without true repentance and a changed heart there is no promise of forgiveness. And now if one emphasizes a regenerated heart some people are hit and they cannot endure it. Then they spread the report that we hold another teaching of faith.[7] But that is far [from the truth] for we maintain the baptism and confession of faith of the apostles as the true evangelical teaching, just as the apostles and their disciples taught and as our ancestors witnessed with their property and their blood. Also we see that many indeed accept the externals of the confession of faith and adult baptism, vow to live the Jesus way and to lead a better life; but one often sees little evidence of it. However the apostle admonishes, seek earnestly to live in accordance with the Gospel and examine yourselves whether you stand in the faith. When I contemplate the hymn in the little handbook which begins "Examine yourselves" etc., then I feel a great lack in myself but the apostle says, "Seek peace and holiness." May He grant to me and to all those who desire it, His grace through Jesus Christ. Amen. I will close. Do not think, my son, that I am casting any reflections on you or anyone else. I wrote above why I am writing. For we seek and desire nothing else than to see the church built up again and that the kingdom of darkness shall be destroyed. But the enemy cannot endure it and for that reason he thunders forth false accusations. May the Lord forgive them as I forgive them and pray for them. There would be much more to write and to examine wherein the great decline of the church lies. Perhaps more another time if I live. In conclusion all of us greet all of you wishing you prosperity in soul and body. I greet also the fellow ministers and all who inquire about us. Pray for us as we also intend to do for you. The Lord be with you all. Amen.

Wishing you salvation and blessing.

DAVID BAUMGARTNER

The following was written by Deacon Peter P. Lehman who moved from here to the state of Missouri in 1866[8] and reads as follows:

5 Isaiah 38:13 (Hezekiah writes): "I reckoned till morning, that, as a lion, so will he break all my bones: from day even to night wilt thou make an end of me."

6 Ezekiel 20:11, 12: "And I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them.

"Moreover also I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them."

7 It is possible that the spiritual decline which the aged elder deplores here is not confined to the Swiss in America. John A. Sprunger, born on the Muensterberg in 1852 and brought to America by his parents in 1854, returned to the land of his birth in 1889 and gave impetus to the revival among the Emmenthal Anabaptists near Langnau. (See Delbert Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists*, p. 119.)

8 In 1865 Peter P. Lehman and several other Swiss Mennonites set out from Sonnenberg to found a colony where their young people could purchase cheap land. They chose a location at Fortuna near Tipton, Missouri, on the border of Morgan and Moniteau counties. This developed into a flourishing General Conference Church that, unlike some other General Conference Swiss congregations in America, has retained a strong nonresistant position. Schneck's record includes the names of thirty-three "old friends" who died at Fortuna between 1870 and 1935. The list includes the names of Rev. M. S. Moyer (1845-1903), Rev. P. P.

This letter [of David Baumgartner] was all the more important to me because it tells about our ancestors, how they came into the diocese and how they were still in danger of being driven out again, how D. B. says that his father helped to carry the fine cloth in order that subsequently they might enjoy the favor and the tolerance of the prince. Also how they lived quiet and well behaved and how they practiced prayer to God. I still remember very well how my father often told how his parents and grandmother had related how poor and wretched they eked out their existence, how they admonished each other in the fear of God. When they assembled they would converse with one another about the Word of God and comfort each other in it, also how earnest they were in prayer not only three times a day, but much and often. Especially as night came on one would go here, another there, to a solitary place and pray to God. It is to be wished that such would still be our practice and that the love of Christ might so compel us.

Later since these people had promised the government that they and the Anabaptists who would follow them would not buy any land but merely live on the mountains as renters, some years later they supported themselves on the mountains as renters with difficulty. Their number had increased considerably. Accordingly the lands for rent became scarce and the rent high. Besides they had rent and many taxes to pay so that it was difficult for a poor man with many small children to provide for their support. Then there came to Switzerland a letter from Benedict Schrag[9] who had settled in Green Township, Wayne County, Ohio. The letter gave glowing reports of America. Then Peter Lehman, Isaac Sommer, Ulrich Lehman and David Kirchhofer decided to move to this country. In April 1819 they began their journey, boarded a ship in Le Havre, France, and after a voyage of forty-seven days arrived in New York. Via Philadelphia, Lancaster, Pittsburg and Canton they traveled to within four miles of Wooster.[10] Here for a month they lived together in a school house and finally after extensive investigation on foot they purchased land in the middle of this [Sonnenberg] settlement. The first that they had to do was to lay their hand to the primeval forest, to build blockhouses[11] and to clear land. The inhabitants were few and these were strange to them, the language also strange. They had scanty means but suffered no want because means of livelihood could be had in exchange for labor. Before the Ohio Canal[12] was constructed farm products were unmarketable at least not for money. Mills were few and these were twenty miles away.[13] Therefore corn and potatoes had to substitute for bread. Nevertheless, they were never sorry that they had moved to this coun-

Lehman (1846-1919), Deacon Christian Welty (1824-85), and the following surnames: Ashbacher, Gerber, Lehman, Loganbill, Welty, Hofstetter, Moser, Basington.

9 In 1817 Benedict Schrag emigrated to America from the Muenstertal with three other families. The others remained in Pennsylvania for a time but Schrag went on to Wayne County, Ohio, where some Amish settlers persuaded him to make his home. A few years later Christian Brand (or Brandt) who had accompanied him to America and had stopped temporarily in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, also came on to Wayne County, and became a minister in the Oak Grove Amish Church.

10 This was near or on the land purchased by Benedict Schrag near the present location of the Ohio Agricultural Station east of Wooster.

11 Block houses were constructed of unhewn logs. The chinks were filled with branches, leaves, and mud. After some of the land was cleared and crops planted, the more ambitious settlers built cabins of logs hewn square with an adz or an ax.

12 The Ohio Canal from Marietta to Cleveland was not completed until 1832. Even then it passed through Massillon several miles east of the Swiss and Amish Mennonite settlements in Wayne County. However it soon doubled and quadrupled the twenty-five cents a bushel price of wheat.

13 The nearest mills were at Canton "twenty miles away."

try for they saw that labor received a much larger reward than on the wild mountains in Switzerland. Besides here was the noble freedom of conscience to worship God according to the conviction of one's heart without heeding any orders from the wielder of a scepter.

Then Peter Lehman and Isaac Sommer wrote good and minute reports about this land to their friends and relatives in Switzerland. They reported that much good cheap land could still be bought here. This induced seven families and several single persons to follow in 1821, namely, Hans Lehman, an elder, Jacob Bichsel, Abraham Lehman, Hans and Christian Lehman, Abraham Zuercher, Jacob Moser, Peter Hofstetter, David and Samuel Zuercher. Later, 1822 came Ulrich Gerber, minister, Michael Gerber, deacon, and Jacob Gerber.

In 1824 came Peter and Hans Welty, Christian Beer, John and Abraham Tschantz, John and Christian Waly, Christian and Abraham Gilliom, Nicholas Hofstetter, Abraham Falb, Michael Boegly, Hans Lugenbuehl, David Baumgartner,[14] Ulrich Sommer and Peter Schneck.

In 1825 came David Althaus, Ulrich and Peter Moser. Also from Alsace came in the same year Daniel Steiner, elder; Ulrich and Christian Steiner. All of these moved to Chippeway and founded a congregation there.[15]

In 1828 again came several. Among them were John Heyerly and Isaac Falb. And so from year to year came more and more. But it would be too long a list for me to report here.

In 1835 came David Baumgartner, elder, who was mentioned earlier and also Christian Tschantz, deacon, Peter, John and Abraham C. Tschantz.

In the same year again came many families from Alsace. Among them were Christian Steiner, an elder. But these did not remain there long. Instead they moved to Putnam County, Ohio, the same year, because two years before a certain Michael Neuenschwander[16] settled there. Many soon moved there from many different places and in a short time became a large congregation.

In the spring of 1852 the large Sprunger relationship came from Switzerland. But they soon went to Adams County, Indiana, where before long a large congregation was founded.[17]

So much for the immigration. But I have been more intent upon reporting the time of arrival and names of the first immigrants and also their elders and ministers. Since the first four families had no minister for two whole years the time seemed very long. I still remember very well what joy there was and how the tears flowed when for the first time they again saw their brethren in the faith and they had renewed hope to become a congregation here, to hold meetings and conduct worship

14 This was the son of Elder David Baumgartner. The son emigrated to America in 1824; his father in 1835.

15 This congregation built a meetinghouse about one mile northwest of the present Crown Hill Mennonite Church. For many years they maintained their fellowship with the other Swiss Mennonite churches at Sonnenberg; in Putnam and Allen counties, Ohio; in Adams County, Indiana, and with the small group that settled near Fortuna on the border of Moniteau and Morgan counties in Missouri. The congregation founded on the Chippeway in northern Wayne County in 1825 eventually became the Crown Hill Mennonite Church and is now a member of the Ohio and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference.

16 Michael Neuenschwander left his home in the Jura Mountains in Switzerland in 1823 and purchased land in Green Township, Wayne County, Ohio, in the spring of 1824. In the spring of 1833 he and his son John entered two quarter sections of land in Putnam County, Ohio, and moved to the new location the same summer. As a result of a letter he wrote to friends in the Jura an especially large group came to Putnam in 1835.

17 The Bernese Anabaptists, Christian and Peter Baumgartner, pioneered in Adams and Wells counties in Indiana in 1838. They were joined there the next year by Elder David Baumgartner, writer of the letter preserved by David Schneck and printed above.

services. Their love for each other was much greater then than now for they were poor and they needed each other. With joy they received their brethren into their little block huts and served each other with what means they had. They lived with scanty means and in lowliness, without any luxuries. When I consider that time and the present, the great difference in the space of eighty years, I must say with our old minister, David Baumgartner, "What will finally be!" Nevertheless, I will hasten on and hope for the best.

By Deacon Peter P. Lehman

History and Observations on the Past, Present, and Future of the Sonnenberg Congregation

In the year 1819, the first four families came from Switzerland: Peter Lehman, Ulrich Lehman, Isaac Sommer, and David Kirchhofer.[18] Then in 1821 seven families and several single persons came. Among them was Hans Lehman, a bishop. In 1822 came several among whom were Ulrich Gerber, a preacher, and Michael Gerber, a deacon.[19] But Hans Lehman and Ulrich Gerber were very strict regarding outer forms and wished to compel every married man to wear a beard. They did not conduct themselves as examples to the flock and were guilty of unchastity. Hence Hans Lehman was removed from office on December 25, 1827, and Ulrich Gerber in the autumn of 1829. So in order to establish a congregation an election was held in July, 1827, for two ministers.[19a] Peter Schneck and Ulrich Sommer were chosen and the foundation was now laid for the building of the Sonnenberg congregation.[20] In the spring of 1828 Abraham Tschantz was chosen deacon[21] and in the spring of 1829 Peter Schneck was ordained bishop by Daniel Steiner who had recently come from Switzerland and had settled in the Chippeway.

Peter Schneck, Ulrich Sommer, and Abraham Tschantz labored together for ten years and since the congregation grew, John Heierly, a beloved and active laborer, was ordained preacher in June, 1839. In 1842 he and Ulrich Sommer were in the lot for bishop and it hit Ulrich Sommer. In August, 1844, John Heierly died and in the following October Christian Sommer was ordained as his successor, a man with a keen eye that looked far into the future. He was ordained bishop October 12, 1862, and served in that position faithfully until his death

18 These came from Mont Girod and Sonnenberg in the Jura and named their new settlement Sonnenberg. An Ulrich Lehman, probably the son of the Peter Lehman who came in 1819, became the first young man to be married in the Sonnenberg congregation. On December 31, 1822, he was married to Barbara Gerber who immigrated with parents (probably Deacon and Mrs. Michael Gerber) earlier in the same year. Elder John (Hans) Lehman performed the ceremony. Ulrich's brother wore wooden shoes to the wedding.

19 These two with Jacob Gerber came to Sonnenberg from the Jura in 1822.

19a Apparently there is confusion in dates at this point unless the historian means that control of the congregation had passed out of the hands of Hans Lehman and Ulrich Sommer even before they were silenced.

20 Other candidates in the lot were Peter Lehman, Isaac Sommer, and Abraham Tschantz.

21 The first baptismal service was held at the same time. Bishop Daniel Steiner of the Chippeway Church (now Crown Hill) held the first such service in the Sonnenberg congregation on Easter Sunday, 1828, when he baptized David Kirchhofer, Peter Moser, Regina Kirchhofer, Anna A. Lehman, and Elizabeth P. Lehman. Following a custom dating from the persecution period in Switzerland the Sonnenberg ministers conducted the first six annual baptismal services at night. Beginning in 1834 Bishop Peter Schneck conducted open baptism. In 1841 he set Good Friday as the date for baptismal services. David Schneck's record lists the names of all those who were baptized into the Sonnenberg church year by year from 1828 to 1936. The services seem to have been omitted in 1865-70, 1898, and 1906. From 1828 to 1936, 1,177 persons were baptized into the Sonnenberg congregation. In 1935 the membership roll contained 503 names. A majority of the membership became dissatisfied with the leadership and 330 applied for membership in the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference. They were accepted and authorized during a meeting of the Conference held in Fulton County, Ohio, May 25-27, 1937, to organize the Kidron Mennonite congregation.

December 4, 1891, aged eighty years and three months.[22] He was subjected to many trials both by word of mouth and by letters. However, he never swerved from his confession of faith but sought the welfare of his congregation and admonished them to remain steadfast, humble, and lowly. On October 4, 1891, he attended services for the last time and delivered his farewell sermon. He stated that he never regretted having held fast to his confession of faith.

In the spring of 1886 he had to experience what already for a number of years was evident. Several members of his stewardship or members of his congregation had disregarded the advice of the Apostle Paul which he has left us and to which he has called our attention: "Remember your leaders, those who labor among you and are over you and admonish you in the Lord, and esteem them all the more because of their work and be at peace with them" (I Thess. 5:12, 13). "And let there be no divisions among you but be united in the same mind and the same judgment" (I Cor. 1:10). But some went their own way after their ears itched and founded a congregation of their own. David Moser was the instigator. His daughter Elizabeth wished to unite with the church that same spring and she made a demand to Bishop Sommer for more freedom. It would require too much space to mention everything in detail. But one thing must be inserted here: the leader of the division had her demands written by his brother, A. J. Moser, in Missouri, who soon afterward declared himself an unbeliever, and David Moser read her demands before the whole congregation. The following were the first to leave the [Sonnenberg] congregation: David Moser (who hanged himself in a fit of despondency January 31, 1905), Christian Zuercher, Christian C. Tschantz, Isaac I. Lehman, John L. Amstutz, Peter Schneck, Abraham Amstutz, Shem Geiger, and Isaac P. Lehman. These sold their right to the old meetinghouse and built their own opposite the Sonnenberg school building. This bears the name Salem—what a Salem of dissatisfied people! So the above-named left the old Swiss church and united with the so-called Oberholzer Church now known as the General Conference [Mennonite Church].

On May 20, 1886, they chose A. A. Sommer, a high-school student, as preacher.[22a] S. F. Sprunger of Berne, Indiana,[23] and C. J. van der

22 Largely through the mild firmness with which Bishop Christian Sommer insisted on the simple life and faith of his Swiss ancestors, the Sonnenberg congregation succeeded in maintaining their religious and cultural heritage. Their proximity to the strong Mennonite and Amish congregations at Martin's, Oak Grove, and in Holmes County probably assisted Sommer and his fellow ministers in preserving their hereditary culture. All the other Swiss Mennonite congregations gradually adapted themselves to the prevailing American modes in dress and united with the General Conference of Mennonites of North America during the ninth decade of the nineteenth century. The last attempt of the leaders of the Swiss Mennonite Churches in America to retain their cultural and religious unity was the conference held at Sonnenberg in 1879. Christan Sommer refused to sign the resolutions adopted by the conference because, as he said, those resolutions already had been broken by the ministers from Berne, Indiana, and from Allen and Putnam counties in Ohio.

22a A. A. Sommer seems to have been a student at the Mennonite school erected at Wadsworth, Ohio, in 1866. David Moser led the young men who had attended at Wadsworth in founding a Sunday school in 1872.

23 Samuel F. Sprunger, born on the Muensterberg, Canton Bern, Switzerland, on October 19, 1848, accompanied his parents to America in the great 1852 immigration. He was ordained to the ministry at the age of twenty (August 23, 1868) but had consented to his ordination only on the condition that he would be allowed to attend school. He entered the Mennonite school at Wadsworth, Ohio, in the fall of 1868, where he imbibed the progressive views of John H. Oberholtzer, Christian Schowalter, and the German theologian Carl Justus van der Smissen. He was a member of the first graduating class of five men in June, 1871. Christian Krehbiel ordained him to the full ministry at Berne in 1874. His progressive views alienated most of his congregation so that for a time he had only a few followers but the congregation gradually returned to him. He became a leader in the organizational and editorial activities of his conference.

Smissen[24] of Hayesville [Ohio] were here to install him in the office but he could not occupy it very long. He made the remark that if his cause was not from God he would keep silent. In a few years it came about that he could not preach any more. His voice was mute. Then came Joel Lehman from Indiana, one who sought the welfare of the membership. But his time also arrived to travel farther. Then came S. P. Preheim from Dakota but dissatisfaction arose again. Then Adam Sommer [later the founder of the Kidron Tabernacle congregation] was chosen to preach. Then came M. A. Neuenschwander from Putnam County and now, 1926, A. R. Kaiser is their preacher.[25]

In the spring of 1888 Isaac P. Lehman, who was one of the first of the new church, became ill. This brought to his mind that he had made an error in leaving the old church. He blamed himself on this account and went to Bishop Christian Sommer and begged his forgiveness for his fault in uniting with the new church.

He inquired whether they would receive him again, for he felt that he did not have long to live. So after he confessed that he had done wrong in leaving the old church he was accepted again as a brother. A few days before his death he stated that he felt cheerful and in good spirits now that he again was at peace with the old church.

At the time of the division it was suggested by many of the brethren that those who had gone to the new church should be excommunicated. But old Bishop Christian Sommer asserted that he could not see it that way, but that any who had left would need to confess their error before they could be reinstated as members.

So work continued in the old church until the year 1880 when a difficult situation arose again. The large family Schwarz was influenced by a man named Lindin who planted in them a spirit of witchcraft and led them from the true faith. And again in 1893-94 many were led into error away from the Christian faith by the Russellite heresy.[26]

In 1917-19 during the World War a division arose in the Salem congregation because Adam Sommer preached too vigorously against the war. Adam Sommer and a number of the members decided to set up their own congregation. They built a tabernacle in Kidron, dedicated it on Thanksgiving Day, 1922, and held services there every Sunday.[27]

Again another spirit arose in Sonnenberg when Gideon Gerber of the Salem church seemed to have an unusual illumination. He won a following: Simon Nussbaum, Elias Falb, and others who hold their services in dwelling houses.[28] Their foundation of faith is derived from a man

24 Rev. Carl Justus van der Smissen was called from Altona, in Holstein, Germany, in 1868, to head the German theological faculty of the Mennonite school at Wadsworth. He and S. F. Sprunger of Berne ordained his son, Rev. Carl Heinrich Anton van der Smissen, pastor of two now extinct Mennonite congregations—Cleveland and the Salem Mennonite Church north of Hayesville, Ohio. After the young minister moved west the father served as pastor. He lies buried in the Strickland Cemetery across the highway from the former site of the Salem Church.

25 The present pastor is James Reusser and the membership of the Salem Church is reported in the *Yearbook* as 225.

26 "Pastor" Russell (Charles T. Russell, 1852-1914), founder of the Russellite heresy, denied the Biblical teaching of the deity of Christ, interpreted the punishment of the Bible as eternal death, and taught that the millennium would begin in 1914. About 3,000,000 copies of his works had been sold by 1946.

27 At the beginning of World War I members of the Salem Mennonite congregation supported the war effort with considerable enthusiasm. When some of the young men, who had attended Bluffton College, accepted military service and Sommer's attempt to discipline them did not receive the support of the membership, he and a few of his followers withdrew to found the tabernacle congregation in Kidron. They named their meetinghouse Kidron Gospel Tabernacle. They have been losing most of their young people to the Missionary Alliance in Orrville.

28 Gideon Gerber had attended the Moody Bible Institute. Elias Falb had taken correspondence courses at Goshen College and attended the winter Bible term there in 1912.

named Bengel who fell away from the American Mennonites. They did not believe in a sect or the name of a church organization. They are those who are washed in the blood of the Lamb (this we must actually be), they have no regular preacher, if anyone has a revelation he is afforded an opportunity to express it. According to my knowledge they are somewhat similar to the Reformed Mennonites who consider everything else mere Babel stuff.[29] What the future will bring we must let the years reveal.

More Information About the Old Sonnenberg Church

On May 8, 1921, following his sermon, Preacher Jacob Moser read his withdrawal or resignation from the ministry. He insisted that the resident preachers must preach German and stated that he disapproved evening meetings. Hereupon the congregation and the ministers decided that for the present preaching should be in German only and that Moser should continue to take his turn. On November 27, 1924, Moser again expressed dissatisfaction. Accordingly a committee was chosen to help the other ministers to counsel. These were Isaac Zuercher,[30] David P. Lehman, Joel Amstutz, John D. Bichsel, Abraham Hofstetter, and William Lehman.

When the preacher and the committee met, Moser presented his demands: to resign his office as minister because the English language had been introduced and encouraged too rapidly and he could not conscientiously co-operate. Then he made another demand: he wished to be free of Sunday-school exercises, weddings, instruction meetings, visiting the sick, funeral services, and [demanded] that Sunday school and church services should be held every two weeks as they formerly were.

After due deliberation the other preachers and the committee decided that at this time it would not be advisable or edifying to conduct the church in that way.

Moser made still another demand: that he be allowed to sit back on the benches occupied by the congregation but if it would be necessary on account of sickness or other absence of the other ministers, and if it be requested, he would be willing to be used [in preaching]. In reply to this demand the committee and ministers reached this conclusion: to lay the whole matter on his own conscience and if he could see his way clear to do it he was to have the right to fulfill his office as formerly.

On March 8, 1925, Moser again made a demand. And this was as follows: every Sunday, Sunday school, meeting and preaching, the sermon in German, except a visiting minister might preach English; only on the last Sunday of the month would the sermon be English if preached by a local minister; but he wished to be excused from all English exercises. And so they worked along again until April 11, 1928. Baptismal services were held May 17, 1928; the candidates were baptized and communion

The members named here had been Sunday-school teachers at Sonnenberg. When they insisted on teaching the Sunday-school lessons directly from the Bible instead of using the quarterlies published at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, and were criticized for presuming to "know more than the editors of the quarterly," they withdrew and held services in their homes.

29 The Reformed Mennonites, founded in 1811 by John Herr, of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, refuse to hear any other preacher except their own. They will not attend the funeral of a near relative when the services are conducted by the minister of another denomination.

30 Isaac Zuercher was a leading lay leader. Beginning in 1918 he served for many years as Sunday-school superintendent. He was chosen chairman of the group that was forced out of the Sonnenberg congregation in 1936, was in the lot when Allen Bixler was chosen as first minister of the Kidron congregation, and then the next year was ordained to the ministry to assist Bixler.

services were held on May 20, 1928. It was announced to the congregation that Moser wished a "witness" or a letter [signifying he was in good standing]. He asserted that he was entirely satisfied with everything and gave no reason for requesting a church letter. Bishop C. N. Amstutz gave him no letter merely to carry around in his pocket.

Accordingly he withdrew to a bench in the church until April 15, 1929, when a counsel meeting was held about Preacher Moser. Everything was discussed pro and con and nothing definite was decided. On April 21, 1929, it was brought before the church that Moser again wished to take his place as a preacher of the Word. On April 28, 1929, Moser again took up the duties of his office after sitting back in the audience for a year and abstaining from communion and from his office without asking pardon for it.[31]

Now a difficult situation arose in the Sonnenberg Church. Louis Amstutz was elected minister of the Gospel and Benjamin Geiser deacon. They soon pretended to know more than the old ministers and thought that they had a better light to care for the congregation. They accused Bishop C. N. Amstutz of complaining that they were accusing him in his direction of the congregation. Louis Amstutz asserted that the old bishops, Christian Sommer and Jacob Nussbaum, never had any real order in the church although under their guidance the congregation bloomed and grew in spiritual life. Louis Amstutz and Benjamin Geiser held firmly to the outer forms but not to true regeneration of the heart. They showed themselves as lords rather than as examples to the flock with a gentle spirit.[32]

An Account of Various Things That Happened in the Sonnenberg Congregation in the Course of Time

Christian D. Steiner was chosen by lot and ordained minister on April 29, 1866. In the beginning people believed that by God's help he would try to fulfill the calling to which he had been called. He preached for a time but later he did not wish to any more. Something had happened to him that he did not like; so he refused to preach. Besides he had not conducted himself in his community relations as he ought, got into quarrels with his surrounding neighbors and was more harmful than useful to the church, etc. On April 7, 1878, he was deprived of his office until he should repent and do better, but that unfortunately did not happen.

On October 15, 1878, there was a ministers' meeting or conference at which it was decided that C. D. Steiner should be reinstated, but on account of difficulties he was set back by seventy votes on December 8, 1878.

31 This is another example of the practical spirit of tolerance, charity, and patience evident throughout the history of the congregation.

32 David Schneck's account deals severely with the acts and decisions of the young bishop, Louis Amstutz. The general charges are that Amstutz was guilty of arbitrariness, partiality, and a lack of spirituality and Christian charity. Specifically it was charged that he delayed communion services from spring to fall in 1929 and then, although a large majority of the congregation voted to hold communion in October, he attended the service merely as a spectator and not as a participant. This had not occurred before in the 102-year history of the congregation. Another specific charge was that when the aged bishop, C. N. Amstutz, announced in 1932 that twenty-five young people were ready for instruction prior to baptism, the young bishop, Louis Amstutz, attended the meeting but refused to take part, thus making it necessary to postpone the service. Other charges of an equally serious nature need not be mentioned here. When the Sonnenberg congregation of more than 500 members divided in 1936, less than 200 followed the leadership of Louis Amstutz. His congregation now holds membership in the Virginia Conference. The 1955 *Yearbook* reports a membership of 171.

On December 8, 1878, there was an assembly in the meetinghouse which considered the "Wheat-Story" of John Amstutz (Swiss) and Christian Amstutz—which is much too extended to tell here. Witnesses were heard on both sides and the wrong was found to be on Christian Amstutz's side. C. D. Steiner kept trying to help Christian Amstutz' side and even wished to bring his family for witnesses against John Amstutz (they were all false). But people put little faith in them. So C. D. Steiner was deprived of his office, for he led the church more like a cloud of darkness than a light. Then in the following spring he moved to Green Township or into the Milton Township congregation. In the spring of 1880 he wished to be reinstated in his office but since our congregation had set him back he did not like to grant that a vote should be taken in our congregation whether the office of preacher should be granted to him again. This, his ambition would not permit him to do. Accordingly a counsel was taken in the Milton Township congregation on March 26, 1880. By a majority vote he was restored to the ministry.

Conference in the Sonnenberg Church

October 15, 1878, there was a ministers' meeting of the Swiss Mennonites. For a considerable period the so-called Swiss Mennonites had held no conference. Through conversation and writing the ministers agreed to hold a conference in the Sonnenberg Church on October 15, 1878.

The names of the twelve ministers present were:

From the Sonnenberg Church: Ulrich Sommer [elder], Christian Sommer [elder], Christian Schneck [minister], and Jacob J. Moser [deacon].

From the Chippeway Church: Christian D. Steiner, Christian Steiner, and David C. Amstutz.

From the Putnam Church: John Moser, Christian Zimmerly, and Peter P. Steiner.

From the Adams County, Indiana, Church: Christian Sprunger, Christian B. Lehman.

[The Conference] was also closed in peace.

The subjects discussed were as follows:

(1) Nonresistance.
(2) Baptism on Confession of Faith.
(3) If one Brother sins against another, the order shall be observed which Jesus gave. Matt. 18:15-17
(4) One should not tarry unnecessarily in a saloon.
(5) One should beware of evil association.
(6) Picnics and "eating school festivals" [box socials] are more harmful than useful.
(7) In our houses we should avoid all disorderliness as much as possible and not give way to evil and vain things.
(8) In business one is to be honest.
(9) One should flee pride.
(10) Missions.
(11) Schools and schoolteachers.
(12) Education of young people.
(13) The congregations should do right if disciplined members bring complaints into another congregation. One should undertake nothing until the ministers have been consulted in the congregation from which the complainant comes.

John Moser [elder] of Putnam was the moderator of the Conference.

In November, 1879, a ministers' counsel [conference] was held in the Sonnenberg meetinghouse on account of the disagreements between Christian Sprunger's congregation and Samuel F. Sprunger's congregation in Adams County, Indiana.

So far as has been learned at this time about the above-mentioned matters, we cannot see how a complete unity could have been established between the above-mentioned congregations or generally speaking between our Swiss Mennonites and S. F. Sprunger's congregation. Several different considerations or reasons bring us to this view. To mention any of these in particular we will pass over at this time. But neither do we quite see that we ought to declare a complete break or separation at this time. Especially since we are still justified in the hope that under certain conditions we could come nearer than we are now. Nevertheless any such terms must be permeated with and characterized by "The love of Christ constrains us."

First: On Christian Sprunger's side complaints are made against S. F. Sprunger that he disregarded the counsel of the church, took his own ways, and did not conduct matters according to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. In this way he worked in opposition to the older ministers [elders] and permitted things which they considered harmful. In this way he grieved and wronged the elders and increased rather than lightened their already heavy load. According to charges recently handed in and also as circumstances earlier came to our notice more or less we also so far as we now know of the affair acknowledge that S. F. Sprunger was in error; nevertheless not unpardonably so if he would meet the ministers he has offended as far as to entreat their patience and forgiveness for everything in which he had offended them. Including everything without mentioning anything in particular, if S. F. Sprunger would consider worth noting the admonition which we humble ministers have given him in the spirit of love, we would admonish him in love to approach us with the only weapon of the heart. And if S. F. Sprunger's side can maintain their complaints against the other regarding matters which they also cannot tolerate without apology, then we will admonish the other side to the same approach [toward reconciliation]. But really we are more concerned about reconciliation than with a settlement [of differences]. And here we would remind briefly that the Gospel is a word of reconciliation and that we pray every day (or should pray) forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors.

Second: The question has been raised how is it with S. F. Sprunger's confession of faith? Does he stand nearer to us than other churches who are not nonresistant, etc.? Without making any further remarks about it we wish to say in short if S. F. Sprunger and his congregation acknowledge the fundamentals of the nonresistant faith as right and in conformity with the Holy Scriptures and intend to labor for them, then we wish him the power to live it. And may he and his followers be able to sail their ship of faith through sea and waves and tempest until he, with his, reaches with joy the haven beyond where no more waves or tempest will be. And we ministers of the so-called Swiss churches will try with God's help to hold fast to the confession of our hope. In our low estate we will try to manage our housekeeping with our mutual assistance so well as we can and to maintain our accepted discipline so much as God gives us strength. We must be watchful at the helm so that we do not suffer shipwreck. Our little ship of faith we have named "Defenceless" [Wehrlos] but whether

it will be able to withstand all the storms and billows of persecution we cannot be assured of ourselves. In this spirit we still might find space to sail along side by side in peace upon the great world-sea, yet with certain requirements as to how by self-examination we should mutually conduct ourselves toward each other.

Third: We in our lowliness hold that it is harmful to our congregations if transgressing members find reception in another congregation without correcting their fault in the place where they were found blameworthy. We on our part are prepared to enter into an agreement that if transgressing members wish to go from one congregation to another they shall not be received until they have made their wrong right where it was committed.

Fourth: We are of the opinion that when members came from another congregation they should have a written testimonial that they are at peace in their congregation and if there are points of difference they should be able to confess that they agree to them or that they are willing to bear with them so that they may not cause unrest or disturbance on account of them.

Fifth: If two persons from different congregations wish to be married, they may be married by the minister of the congregation where they announce their intention to be married. The one who comes from another congregation is to have a written statement of membership. They are to present themselves in their outward appearance in such a way that they will not give occasion for offense in the congregation where they are married. Then each can hold his membership where he belonged before. However if they both prefer to hold their membership in the same congregation no exclusion shall be carried out on that account. In partaking of the holy communion it would generally be better if all members of a congregation would partake of communion where they are members. If any were to come from a distant congregation it should be done by previous announcement and with the acknowledgment of the ministers.

Sixth: Whether one is obliged to give all ministers an opportunity to preach or to occupy the pulpit with them let them come in whatever dress they would whereby dissatisfaction might arise, that is not our intention. Yet we wish to leave this matter to the ministers of each congregation for decision and to deal with it according to their convictions.

Seventh: In regard to the mutual use of the meeting house of the above-mentioned congregations in Adams County, Indiana, if neither side will accept any agreement and no solution can be reached as to how they intend to conduct themselves toward each other, etc., we are of the opinion that a joint use of the house will not serve their mutual peace and usefulness. But if that could be brought about probably also in this an agreement could be reached.

Eighth: In the education of the youth are also differing views. What has been made known to us about this matter is S. F. Sprunger's thought that one should do more in this respect and show himself more effective and active than the others in his opinion, were. Christian Sprunger and his members, at least many of them, see in the conduct and advance of S. F. Sprunger's congregation great danger for their young people. We wish to omit bringing up and mentioning the opposing reasons and accusations in detail. We wish, however, that all ministers and elders so far as God gives them strength might follow the apostle's admonition to bring their children up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. And present yourselves as an example of

good works and let your light shine by your teaching and your daily walk. Show thereby that you have not set your heart on the world either in clothes or in other things. What you cannot accomplish by your own efforts, commit to God the true friend of children [beseeching Him] that He Himself may lead each one by the hand and conduct them safely through all dangers so that not one may be lost. We are confident that on either side there is no minister and still less a father—or a mother—heart who does not wish all of the children may be led to Christ.

Ninth: On Christian Sprunger's side there are various complaints regarding evening preaching services in which certain dangers are feared and that many generally take more part in other worship services than in their own, etc. We hold that no minister rejoices if the members of his congregation show more love and sympathy at other places than at home and thereby neglect or lose interest in their duty in their own church. And yet we maintain that there is a difference if one attends his own divine service regularly and shows love toward his minister and meanwhile now and then attends other places where the Word of God is preached than if he neglects his duties in his own congregation. To make a command that no one could be allowed to attend another church at all, we could not agree to. Neither have we a desire to keep count or permit how often one might attend. We wish, however, to admonish earnestly all brothers and sisters of a congregation with the apostle in the name of Jesus Christ that all of you teach the same doctrine, let there be no divisions among you but hold firmly together in the same mind and in the same opinion. I Cor. 1:10. But we beseech you, dear brethren and sisters, that you respect those who labor with you and are over you in the Lord and admonish you. And love them all the more for their work's sake and be at peace with them. I Thess. 5:12-13. And that they may labor for you with joy and not with sighs for that is not good for you. Heb. 13:17. Help them bear their burden and lighten it. Carry them on a praying heart and seek in a measure to sense how grievous it often is for a poor weak minister when his sighs burst from his anxious breast. Pray unceasingly in all concerns and also for us in our weakness, that God may open the door of His Word and reveal to us how we are to speak and how our mutual prayers and sighs may rise to God's throne to make intercession to the father-heart of God that He by His Spirit may influence, enlighten, and make willing all hearts to cast themselves down before the lordship of His love, and love and unity may be manifested among us more and more as the sign of our discipleship. And if human devices, the blows of chance, manifold accidents of chance, and inner and outer temptations seek to snatch us away from such fellowship, or have already more or less snatched us away, may we nevertheless all strive and endeavor to attain it again—to forget the past. For certainly we all have our eye on the same goal. If we expect to win the prize promised to all faithful overcomers, then we believe that each of us will have anticipated finding each other in our course [toward the goal]. We should guard ourselves against looking too much on others so that we forget ourselves. As we raise our eyes we see upon the stage of this world so many things after which men strive and choose and exert their utmost efforts to attain. Yet no prize is so precious as the peace that one experiences if after a considerable space he has suffered the painful results of distracting discord. Through true repentance the highway can still be made smooth so that the Great

King of Peace may enter. As a fresh reminder we lately celebrated a Thanksgiving Day at the invitation of the ruler of our country. But if we are to pray for peace and quiet in our country, we must pray also for peace among ourselves. Before we engage in this lowly task let us prostrate ourselves at the feet of our High Priest and Chief Shepherd [praying] that He may let true Christian living again appear among us in its most beautiful adornment and even the heathen may walk in its light and kings in the splendor that arises from it.

With a cordial brotherly greeting we remain your admonished servants [or ministers]. John Moser, Peter S. Lehman, Christian Sprunger, Peter Schumacher, Christian Zimmerly, Peter Neuenschwander, Christian B. Lehman, Peter P. Steiner, Christian B. Steiner, Christian Steiner, Ulrich Amstutz, David F. Amstutz, and Christian Schneck.

Christian Sommer and Jacob J. Moser [of the Sonnenberg congregation] did not sign this ministers' counsel because they did not entirely agree with it and besides it would not have been of any great value because the signers themselves had transgressed [its provisions].

The manuscript continues at this point with a paragraph on the founding of the Sonnenberg Sunday School.

In the spring of 1887 the Sunday school was organized. Several years earlier something had been done in the summertime but it was not permanent. Deacon Jacob J. Moser and A. P. Moser conducted Sunday school for some time. But in the above-mentioned year when the old bishop, Christian Sommer, saw that the new church was making an effort to win the young people he held a counsel with the other ministers. Something had to be done, otherwise they would lose the oncoming generation. Then they decided to found a Sunday school. This writer [David Schneck] still remembers what the aged bishop said, among other things said to him (when he came to him to ask him to be a teacher).

"We must do something for our young people. I am too old but my fellow minister, Jacob Nuszbaum, has consented to serve as superintendent and I have promised to get teachers."

I sought every excuse.

Finally he said: "I have considered you as a child in my own family. You will not show yourself disobedient."

This was a thought that touched my heart. Since then I have assisted with my meager talents, until it became a joy to be an associate.

After a few years the young minister Cleophas Amstutz accepted the superintendency and later Daniel W. Lehman served for about two years. Then in 1918 Isaac Zuercher was elected superintendent and is still serving (1926). He has filled the office faithfully to the welfare of the people and the upbuilding of the congregation. In the early years Sunday school was conducted only in the summertime and also only every two weeks. Later they began to conduct it throughout the year. Since May 11, 1924, Sunday school meets every Sunday with twenty-one classes in the main auditorium, seven in the gallery, and fifteen in the basement. Thus, with the Prophet Samuel, we can set up an Ebenezer.

The Transition to English

At this point in the manuscript David Schneck includes a report of several counsels of the local ministers and of the congregation which reveal the terrific struggle experienced by the congregation in

changing its cultural language pattern from Swiss to English. By this time the congregation had severed its ties with the other Swiss Mennonite congregations and had not yet been able to agree to collaborate with the American Mennonite congregations. Standing alone, as it did, it was forced to work out its religious, cultural, and congregational problems as best it could. As the following reports indicate, one of the ministers, unable to use the English language himself, effectually blocked certain necessary progressive measures for several years. These reports are significant too in pointing the growing cleavage in the congregation and the clash of personalities that resulted in the complete division of the congregation more than a decade later.

On May 8, 1921, following his sermon Jacob J. Moser read his resignation for the following reasons: the local ministers were to preach German, and evening services were objectionable *(hinderlich)* to him. Thereupon it was decided by the ministers and by the congregation that, for the present, preaching was to be in German and Moser was to continue taking his place.

On November 27, 1924, on Thanksgiving Day a temporary committee was elected to assist the ministers in the counsel on certain congregational difficulties especially in regard to Preacher Moser's concerns. The following were chosen: W. H. Lehman, Joel S. Amstutz, David Lehman, Isaac Zuercher, John D. Bichsel (Bixel), and Abraham Hofstetter.

Decision of the Committee: We as a committee met with the ministers to discuss this important matter.

First: Brother Moser gave his reason for resigning from his office. The English language had been introduced and promoted too rapidly. For conscience' sake he could no longer co-operate. Accordingly he had two demands under whose conditions he would allow himself to be used [as a minister].

First demand: He wished to be free from [active participation in] Sunday school, weddings, instruction [of candidates for baptism], visiting the sick, and funerals. Also he wished Sunday school only every two weeks as it was earlier.

Decision: After proper consideration and reflection we came to the decision that at this time it would not be advisable or edifying for the congregation to conduct it in this manner.

Second demand: That he might sit back on the benches with the audience. However, if need arose through sickness or other absence of the ministers and it would be requested of him he would permit himself to be used.

Decision: We decided to lay this demand entirely on his own conscience and if in the future he could be convinced and could see it, he would have the right to fill his position as before. And on the other hand, it is also to be laid on our conscience whether Brother Moser has always been dealt with and respected as a minister and fellow-minister as we should like to have been dealt with.

This counsel was signed by the three ministers of the congregation: C. N. Amstutz (elder), Jacob Moser (preacher), and A. M. Neuenschwander (evidently the deacon) and by the six members of the temporary committee.

This counsel, however, does not seem to have ended the difficulty. Schneck's record continues with another ministers' counsel dated March 8, 1925.

Ministers' Decision, March 8, 1925: Every Sunday, Sunday school and meeting and preaching, the sermon in German not excepting visiting ministers, English only on the last Sunday of the month. Brother Moser wishes to be excused from all English speaking. Also we of the ministry desire that the congregation give us a standing committee of three brethren as assistants in the congregational council. Should the council and the congregation wish to change anything in the language arrangement as the resolution now reads, without Brother Moser's consent, it would release him from his office.

Signed by Bishop C. N. Amstutz, Preacher Jacob Moser, Deacon A. M. Neuenschwander.

March 10, 1925, there was a counsel meeting about Brother Moser and the election of a committee of three brethren requested by the administration or ministers to help settle matters. The candidates were Joel S. Amstutz, Isaac Zuercher, W. H. Lehman, David Lehman, Jacob M. Gerber, and Aaron Amstutz. The following were elected by a majority vote: David Lehman for three years, Joel S. Amstutz for two years, and Jacob M. Gerber for one year.

The narrative continues with a report of the election of committee members on June 6, 1926, and Thanksgiving Day, 1927. On these respective dates J. M. Gerber and Joel Amstutz were reelected, each for a term of three years. The narrative then continues with the following ministers' counsel. It seems to show the influence of the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Conference.

We as preachers and ministers of the Word in the Sonnenberg congregation are becoming aware of a general conformity to the world into which our members are being drawn and certainly wish unitedly to support the Biblical teaching of nonconformity to the world.

We vote unitedly as our position on this question: We recognize that no confession of faith has any value unless it is accompanied by a genuine living faith in God with experience in the way of the new life in obedience in all things which the Lord requires of us. The Biblical teaching of the Christian's separation from the world which is useful in the Christian life is to be recognized in the following Scripture passages: Psalm 1:1; Luke 16:15; John 17:14; Rom. 12:1, 2; II Cor. 6:14-18; Titus 2:14; James 1:1-27; I Pet. 1:14; I John 2:15-17.

First: We preachers and ministers strive to stand in all matters as examples to the flock and to be in line with the teaching for the spiritual condition of the congregation in the wearing of clothes so that we avoid all outward show or adornment. We encourage a similar stand on the side of the brotherhood and that they practice faithfulness to the regulations according to the Word of the Lord.

Second: That all members both brethren and sisters in collaboration with the administrators or preachers labor to support the Gospel principle of simplicity and nonconformity to the world and that they keep away from worldly amusements such as the theater, moving picture shows, dancing, the circus, fairs, expositions, pool rooms, billiard tables, bowling alleys, band concerts, box socials, Santa Claus plays, card playing, and so

on. And because among the sisters the hat or something like it is a danger to misleading temptation we admonish them to avoid such clothing as is similar to a hat or might be considered such. Therefore we recognize the bonnet or scarf as the suitable headdress for the sisters and large enough so that the regulation head covering [prayer veiling] can be worn. We warn all sisters to avoid any such dress as is cut out above or cut off below, transparent, and with short sleeves which are for nothing but to arouse fleshly lust. Also cutting the hair or bobbing it or combing it so that it resembles the fashion of the world. It is often a heavy burden on our heart that mothers adorn their children, whom God has given them, for the approval of the world even in their innocency. Desecrating the Sabbath by working in the factory or hauling milk or playing ball and similar games we cannot recognize as proper according to the Word of God. Ex. 20:8-11; Ex. 31:12-17; Neh. 13:16-22; Jer. 17:20-25; Ezek. 20:11-13; Ezek. 19:20, 21.

We admonish the brethren to avoid the use of tobacco or decorating automobiles, also cutting and combing the hair of the head according to the newest fashion of the world is not compatible with the Word of God and the apostles' teaching. One should flee pride and not hang on shiny watch chains, wrist watches, and decorative neck cloths or neckties. School festivals with refreshments [box socials and picnics] are more harmful than useful.

In our homes we are to avoid all disorder so far as possible and not to allow vain or evil things.

In rearing our children we should be more alert to our duty in setting a good example for our young people and [giving them] instruction that is in accord with the apostles' teaching encouraging them to peaceful living, to study the Word of God, to take part in Sunday school, in evening services, and in the mission work of the Lord. And since we are merely strangers and pilgrims let a real family altar be set up in each house.

This we wish you as ministers of the Word.

This section of the manuscript continues for an additional twenty-eight pages containing among other items a five-page letter and poem by Grandfather David Zuercher written to his children in 1879, various brief notes on events in the history of the congregation, minutes of Sunday-school organization meetings, minutes of congregational meetings, minutes of Bible conferences held at the Sonnenberg Church usually by ministers of the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference, Tri-county [Holmes, Wayne, and Medina] Sunday-school meetings, Eastern Ohio Mennonite ministers' meetings, and finally the plan of procedure for the Sonnenberg congregation drawn up by the Executive Committee of the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference on October 8, 1935, after they had been called in by a large majority of the congregation to settle some long-standing difficulties.

Following are some of the more interesting "firsts" in the history of the Sonnenberg congregation, selected at random from various parts of Schneck's manuscript.

The first church was built of hewn logs 30 x 30 feet in 1834. The second was built in 1861 and 1862 at a cost of $1285.51. The third was built 1907, 46 x 72 and 18 feet high—$5600.00.

The Berne hymnbook was adopted in autumn 1895. The committee appointed to select a hymnal was Nicholas Amstutz, Val. M. Gerber, and Daniel C. Hofstetter.

In the autumn of 1907 at the dedication of the new meetinghouse the chorister (Vorsaenger) first rose to lead in singing a hymn. This practice has continued—to rise to lead in singing.

On August 13, 1911, a lighting system was installed in the meetinghouse. Preacher C. N. Amstutz, Deacon Jacob J. Moser were chosen to purchase a lighting system. These three named three more brethren to serve as an advisory committee: Joel S. Amstutz, John P. Lehman, and A. L. Gerber. We purchased a Daytonia Carbide Machine from Agent Peter G. Sommer for $273.00.

In September, 1911, evening services were introduced.

In February, 1912, the first evening sermon was preached—Daniel Kauffman, of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, was here.

On December 18, 1913, a counsel meeting was held. It was decided to hold a quarterly mission offering. Out of this the Sunday-school lesson helps were to be paid and the remainder was to be applied to missionary activities. Menno Nuszbaum was to be treasurer. D. C. Hofstetter was to be assistant superintendent for the Sunday school. It was decided to hold a Bible conference. A preaching service was to be held on Ascension Day.

May 30, 1918 (or Decoration) grave decorating day was observed as a day of prayer on the order of President Wilson. On the same day the Farm Loan Bond Plan was accepted.

In 1918 the *Life Song* hymnbook was adopted for the Sunday school.

In September, 1919, a missionary sewing society was founded in the Sonnenberg congregation.

On October 20, 1920, a counsel was held regarding the purchase of a new light plant for the meetinghouse. The committe was E. P. Gerber, W. H. Lehman, P. J. Amstutz. They purchased a Delco electric plant.

In the spring of 1924 it became the custom in preaching services for one minister to make the opening and another preached the sermon, not as earlier when each minister gave a testimony. The latter has been discontinued entirely except in special instances.

To have an English sermon on the last Sunday of every month was introduced on May 11, 1924.

In the spring of 1925 [Sunday-school] teachers' meeting was introduced.

Standing to sing the last stanza of the last hymn and for the benediction was started in the summer of 1925.

In 1926 the custom began of holding the examination meeting (die Ordnungs Gemeinde) during the week instead of on Sunday as earlier.

In April, 1927, the Wooster electric lights were installed in the church. The congregation had to pay $500 for the installation.

On July 24, 1928, the congregation purchased from John P. Lehman a half acre of ground on the north side of the cemetery in order to enlarge the cemetery.

On August 10, 1930, Bishop C. N. Amstutz asked the congregation whether they would not release him from preaching. He would serve the congregation as bishop as he had done before. He also did not wish to be Sunday-school teacher any more. The reason was that he was not well

and wished to follow the advice of his physician. The congregation granted his request.

On March 27, 1932, the door was opened for the ordinance of foot-washing or permission for those who wished to practice it. About fifty participated. This was the first time that it was practiced in our [the Sonnenberg] congregation.

The mounting difficulties in the congregation are indicated by the following extract from the account of the Sunday-school election for the year 1933.

On December 18, 1932, votes were taken for the Sunday school for the year 1933. . . . The election was postponed until January 1, 1933, because Preachers Louis Amstutz and Jacob Neuenschwander and Deacon Ben Geiser wished to hold an examination of the candidates. Louis Amstutz said that since Ben Geiser (Deacon) was treasurer he should merely have an assistant. So the election was put off until a better spirit of unity could be reached because several candidates were to be left off the ballots because several had helped to sing a hymn at Christmas which Louis Amstutz asserted was offensive. He as superintendent arose on New Year's day and asked the Sunday school if they were willing to work along as had been the custom earlier. At least two thirds gave their consent by rising and Louis Amstutz postponed the organization date till March 5, 1933. Meanwhile the circumstances were discussed from time to time. Then finally on March 5 the election was held. Jacob M. Gerber and Jacob Zuercher counted the votes and the results agreed with the vote for candidates on December 18, 1932, Paul Amstutz, superintendent and Isaac Zuercher, assistant.

Another cause of dissatisfaction was the withdrawal of the ministers' earlier consent to permit the organization of a chorus in the congregation. Schneck's record includes a letter to the congregation signed by the bishop, C. N. Amstutz. After a long paragraph of greeting in the apostolic manner he reports a decision of the ministers.

By virtue of my office as Bishop, not as Lord, but as shepherd of His flock, I confess that I have had many failures and shortcomings, and so earnestly desire your prayers. Because difficulties have arisen concerning the mixed chorus, not only in the church, but have brought many heart-aches in families and also many offenses, I therefore feel it my duty to repeal my consent to the constitution of the above-mentioned chorus; because of the committee to revise the constitution, I do not feel it advisable to accept them now. From henceforth there shall be no such chorus or organization, except only by special agreement of the ministry, but shall be a general singing, and all are welcome to attend, old as well as young. This singing shall be in the oversight of the ministry.

Signed, C. N. Amstutz

For a number of years after the last Swiss Mennonite Conference at Sonnenberg in 1879 the congregation grew and prospered as an independent congregation. More and more, however, German-preaching ministers of the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern Amish Mennonite Conferences were welcomed by the ministers and asked to

preach at Sonnenberg. Schneck reports in detail a Bible conference held at Sonnenberg, beginning Tuesday, February 10, and continuing through Sunday, February 22, 1914, with two hour-long addresses every morning and again in the evening except on Monday. On the two Sunday mornings Sunday school was held as usual with the sermon following. The second address in the evening was a sermon. This program followed the general plan of the "Bible Conferences" held in Mennonite and Amish Mennonite congregations at the turn of the century and for some years following.

In 1914 the instructors at Sonnenberg during the first week were E. L. Frey of Fulton County, Ohio, and S. H. Miller of Holmes County. During the second week they were Noah H. Mack of Pennsylvania and J. S. Gerig. Nearly all of the sermons and addresses were in German but during the first week Miller conducted three of his assignments in the English language. During the second week Gerig spoke English every evening except Sunday and Mack used English on two evenings. Judging by the titles, English addresses were intended especially for young people: "Future Destiny of Mankind," "Biblical Teachings on Dress," "Spiritual Growth," "Social Life," "Evils of the Tongue," etc. The entire program was printed in the German language.

The program of the Bible Conference at the Sonnenberg Church May 19-26, 1929, by Noah H. Mack of New Holland, Pennsylvania, and M. S. Zehr of Pigeon, Michigan, is in striking contrast to the one held fifteen years earlier. The program was printed in English and most of the topics were doctrinal. One topic each morning was discussed in the German language. The other three topics or sermons were presented in English.

The 1936 Sonnenberg Bible Conference held March 9-15 with instructors, S. G. Shetler of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and Chester K. Lehman of Harrisonburg, Virginia, was conducted entirely in the English language. The instructors also conducted the catechism class on Sunday afternoon. The selection of instructors from the more conservative sections of the brotherhood in 1929 and 1936 indicates that some of the Sonnenberg ministers were inclined toward a more conservative congregational discipline.

Early in the century after the popularity of the Bible Conference began to wane, it became customary for the Mennonite ministers to gather for regional meetings for a few days of fellowship and the discussion of common problems. One of these annual sessions, the Eastern Ohio ministers' meeting, convened at Sonnenberg on February 24, 25, 1933. This was the first time that the meeting had

been held in this church. Among the eight Mennonite bishops present were C. N. Amstutz and Louis Amstutz of the Sonnenberg congregation. The two local ministers, Jacob Moser and Jacob Neuenschwander, and twenty other Ohio ministers were present; so also was B. F. Geiser of Sonnenberg and nine other deacons.

Another meeting in which Sunday school and young people's meeting workers at Sonnenberg took part was the annual Tri-County Sunday School Meeting organized as early as 1898. It was held at Sonnenberg, apparently with a German program (at least the program seems to have been printed in German), on October 26, 1912. Jacob Gerig of Wayne County and C. N. Amstutz were moderators and Bishop Jacob Nuszbaum of Sonnenberg read the opening Scripture and led in prayer. The meeting was held again at Sonnenberg in 1919, 1923, and 1927. Since that date it was not held in the Sonnenberg neighborhood until it was held in the new Kidron Church in 1938.

As is evident from several incidents recorded by Schneck, the spirit of fellowship in the congregation was disintegrating. Even before C. N. Amstutz ordained Louis Amstutz bishop, but especially afterward, the majority of the congregation considered that Louis' administration of church affairs was arbitrary. Many of them were ready to unite with the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference. Louis Amstutz insisted on collaborating with the more conservative wings of the Mennonite Church. As early as 1929 he had abstained from communion. And on several occasions his opposition delayed instruction meetings, baptismal services, and communion services. At last, convinced that there was no hope of redress, over three hundred members of the Sonnenberg congregation appealed to the Executive Committee of the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference for assistance. The Executive Committee of Conference then drew up the following plan and submitted it to both sides of the controversy.

Plan of Procedure for Sonnenberg

The Executive Committee of the Ohio Mennonite and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference in company with a number of bishops including the ministry of the Sonnenberg Church met October 8, 1935, to consider existing conditions with reference to the two groups of said church. After discussing the problems from various angles, the following plan was agreed upon to be presented to both groups for their approval or disapproval.

First: That a conference bishop be appointed by the executive committee of the Conference in consultation with the ministers of the Sonnenberg Church. The said bishop to assist the bishop and ministers in all official capacities of the church.

Second: That the bishop appointed to assist in the work of the church make it a point to be present himself or appoint some minister brother to come once or twice a month or oftener if conditions require it.

Third: We further suggest that a new organization of Sunday school be effected at an early date; the same to hold for one year.

Fourth: This suggestive program to be tried for one year with the hope that the congregation become more fully united in the spirit and body. At the expiration of one year the executive committee of Conference, together with the ministerial body, shall make further plans for the future.

O. N. JOHNS, *Secretary*

At the end of the first year the Ohio Conference saw that all hope of reconciliation had vanished. They organized the group of more than three fifths of the congregation (330 members) in the Kidron Tabernacle, into the Kidron Mennonite Church. The members immediately completed their organization and appointed a committee to select a site and build a church. The building, 48 x 90 feet constructed of brick, was erected the next year at a cost of $30,157.76. For the first year the pulpit was supplied by visiting ministers of the Ohio Conference. On November 15, 1937, Allen Bixler was ordained minister and Reuben Hofstetter deacon. Isaac Zuercher was ordained minister on May 24, 1938. In 1941 Reuben Hofstetter was ordained bishop.

At the time of the division, the membership of the Sonnenberg congregation was 503. The present membership at Sonnenberg, now a member of the Virginia Mennonite Conference, is given at 171 in the 1955 *Yearbook,* while at Kidron the membership has risen to 491 and their mission station at Dillonvale has a membership of 21. This is one of the few instances in the history of the Mennonite Church where the seceding element (although Kidron can scarcely be said to have seceded) in a congregation has prospered more than the parent organization. The growth is due to a strong spiritual emphasis, a virile lay and ministerial leadership, a superb spirit of love and brotherhood, and the strong backing of the Ohio and Eastern A.M. Joint Conference. Meanwhile the old Sonnenberg congregation suffered a division in its own midst in which a small group withdrew to remain independent.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE COLLEGES 1953-54

SILAS HERTZLER*

As for the year 1952-53, so again for 1953-54, sixteen Mennonite schools are included in the attendance tabulations herewith presented. One of these schools is a graduate seminary and three are colleges accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Seven additional schools grant bachelor's degrees, but three schools have Bible as the chief emphasis rather than liberal arts. Two are chiefly junior colleges, though one of them grants bachelor's degrees in Bible. The three other schools are professional training schools for nurses and are included here because high-school graduation is required for admission. In the nursing field Goshen College gives a four-year Collegiate course in nursing which leads to a bachelor's degree in nursing. The names and addresses of these sixteen schools are as follows:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Bethel College, 1000 North McKinley Avenue, Mishawaka, Indiana
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Pacific Bible Institute, 2149 Tuolumne Street, Fresno 21, California
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing, Bloomington, Illinois
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 515 Wellington Crescent, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Bethel Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing, Newton, Kansas
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, La Junta, Colorado

Table I lists the 16 colleges and professional schools, and tabulates the data for the individual schools. The largest attendance was at Goshen College with 925 students. The total number of students, 3,718, was 37 more than for 1952-53. Information identifying men and women is incomplete, but what statistics are available indicate, surprisingly, that there were 377 more women students than men.

* Silas Hertzler is professor of education and psychology in Goshen College.

Table II arranges the 3,718 students by classes. By far the largest group are the 1,138 freshmen. The number progressively lessens from year to year, due to dropouts, so that the senior year enrollment had decreased to 415. One rather unexpected feature of the enrollment too is the 174 music, art, correspondence, part-time, and extension students who are below college level. Many of the irregularities of enrollment are indicated in the footnotes accompanying the tables.

Table III identifies 2,711 Mennonite students. This is eleven less than for 1952-53. Since there was a small increase in total attendance reported, the proportion of Mennonite students in the total student body decreased from 74.22% to 72.92%. Even though only six schools conducted a summer session in 1953, as contrasted with eight in 1952, the total attendance increased from 519 to 569, to show an increase of 50 people. However, this was still 44 lower than for the summer of 1951. These details are shown in Table IV.

Table V summarizes 655 diplomas and degrees, as contrasted with 638 in 1952. In addition to the 40 B.D. and Th.B. graduate degrees in Bible, there were 378 bachelor's degrees conferred. These represented seventeen different bachelor's degrees and they were granted in eleven colleges. The collegiate professional B.S. in Nursing was reported for the first time in 1953.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Colleges, 1953-54

School	Graduate Students	College	Special Students	Total Enrollment	Men	Women	Detailed Information Not Given
M.B.S.	45	3		48	36	12	
Goshen	45	873	7[1]	925	365	560	
Bethel, Kans.		467	53[2]	520	235	285	
Bluffton		273	73[3]	346	173	173	
Grace		317		317	158	159	
Tabor	5	246	7[4]	258	116	142	
E.M.C.	10	245		255	133	122	
Bethel, Ind.		201	34[5]	235	129	106	
M.B.B.C.		202		202	88	59	55
Hesston		156		156			156
Pacific		125		125	70	55	
Canadian		77		77	41	36	
Bloomington		74		74		74	
Bethel Deaconess		69		69		69	
Freeman		63		63	21	42	
La Junta		48		48		48	
Totals	105	3439	174	3718[6]	1565	1942	211

[1] 7 correspondence students, not of college grade.

[2] 53 music and art students, not of college grade.

[3] 65 music and art students, not of college grade; 8 summer students on high-school level.

[4] 3 music and art students, not of college grade; 3 special students and 1 summer school student on the high-school level.

[5] 34 Bible students on the high-school level.

[6] 21 students at Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute listed as Grade XII; 47 students in Grade XII at Mennonite Educational Institute; 9 college students at Steinbach Bible Institute; 15 college students at Emmanuel Bible College in addition to this total.

TABLE II
Enrollment by Classes, 1953-54

	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	High School Level	Other Departments	Total
M.B.S.	45	1	1			1				48
Goshen	45[1]	129	94	142	186	219	82[2]	7[5]	21[3]	925
Bethel, Kans.		59	63	85	149	18	63	53[8]	30[4]	520
Bluffton		49	35	57	92	16	24	73[9]		346
Grace		61	72	74	110					317
Tabor	5	30	24	53	89	15	35	7		258
E.M.C.	10	43	36	51	94				21[6]	255
Bethel, Ind.		24	38	31	75	26	7	34[10]		235
M.B.B.C.			30	30	85	2			55[4]	202
Hesston		3		39	77	10			27[4]	156
Pacific		16	15	32	54	8				125
Canadian			13	21	37	6[7]				77
Bloomington			30	23	21					74
Bethel Deaconess			29	17	23					69
Freeman				15	31		17			63
La Junta			14	19	15					48
Totals	105	415	494	689	1138	321	228	174	154	3718

[1] Seminary students 37; liberal arts graduate students 8.
[2] 78 summer students; 4 spring term.
[3] Scottdale extension 3; correspondence 18.
[4] Extension students.
[5] Bible correspondence students.
[6] Unclassified.
[7] 2 are music students.
[8] Music and art students.
[9] 65 music and art students; 3 special students; 1 summer student.
[10] Bible students.

TABLE III
Mennonite Students, 1953-54

	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	285	392	677[1]
Bethel, Kans.	184	176	360
E.M.C.	131	119	250
Grace	120	105	225
Tabor	108	116	224[3]
Bethel, Ind.	86	75	161[4]
M.B.B.C.	87	57	144
Hesston			141[2]
Bluffton	63	75	138[5]
Pacific	45	45	90
Canadian	41	36	77
Bethel Deaconess		59	59
Freeman	19	35	54
M.B.S.	36	12	48
La Junta		47	47
Bloomington		16	16
			2711[6]
Total	1205	1365	2570[7]

[1] 6 students not of college grade
[2] Details not given
[3] 4 students not of college grade
[4] 23 students not of college grade
[5] 32 students not of college grade
[6] Vertical total
[7] Horizontal total

TABLE IV
STUDENTS IN SUMMER SESSION, 1953

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen College	47	177	224
Bethel College, Kans.	34	78	112
Bluffton College	25	57	82
Tabor College	15	47	62
Eastern Mennonite College	15	32	47
Bethel College, Ind.	18	24	42
Total	154	415	569

TABLE V

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, 1953

	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel, Kans.	Grace	E.M.C.	Hesston	Bloomington	Bluffton	Freeman	Pacific	Tabor	Bethel, Ind.	M.B.B.C.	La Junta	Bethel Deaconess	Canadian	Total
B.D.	9	5															14
Th.B.		7			2					10	3		2			2	26
B.A.		84	33		7			10		3	21	10					168
B.S. in Ed.		62	12		5			5									84
B.S. in Bibl.				17	10					1		14					42
B.S. in Nursing		18	4		2												24
B.R.E.					1	3							15				19
B.S.					2			5									7
B.A. Chr. Ed.										1						5	6
B.S. in Biol.			4														4
B. Sch. Mus.								4									4
B.S. in Sec. Ed.					3			1									4
B.S. in Ho. Ec.			2					1									3
B.S. Ind. Arts			3														3
B.S. Nat. Sci.			3														3
B.S. in Bus.			1					1									2
B.S. Chr. Ed.								2									2
B.S. Phys. Ed.			2														2
B.A. Sacred Mus.										1							1
Nursing Diploma							30							14	13		57
Bibl. 3 yr.				42						2			3				47
A.A.		19	8			30			9	1	2						69
Jr. Col.					4												4
A.A. Bibl.		2															2
Bibl. 2 yr.					4					8							12
Normal 2 yr.									5								5
Sec. 1 yr.		5							2								7
Normal 1 yr.									11								11
Am. Studies		1	3		1				1								6
Chr. Workers					4												4
Th. G.											1						1
Music				3													3
Missions Dipl.				8													8
Bus. 1 yr.					1												1
Totals	9	203	75	70	46	33	30	29	28	27	27	24	20	14	13	7	655

BOOK REVIEWS

Love, Power, and Justice. By Paul Tillich. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. 125. $2.50.

A Review and Discussion

This volume consists of seven Sprunt Lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. Since responsible theologians are inevitably drawn to problems of ethics, it is to be expected that such a theologian as Paul Tillich, whose ontological probing begins with an analysis of the human situation, should consider the relationship of love, power, and justice. There is no other theologian in America today whose mind moves authoritatively over such a vast range of subjects. Standing on the "borderline" between theology and philosophy, Tillich is concerned with any theme of "ultimate concern" to humanity.

He does not endeavor to speak to the problems of Christian ethics in the sense of delineating a phenomenology of love, power, and justice in social relationships. He is interested in demonstrating the validity of the ontological approach as a method of understanding the "root meaning" of love, power, and justice as principles of being. He is convinced that any other approach ends in confusion. In fact, the first chapter, "Problems, Confusion, Method," is intended to demonstrate the chaos of verbiage and conceptual variations which surround the terms in question and the tendency of contemporary theologians to emphasize the dichotomy of love and power, and love and justice without an appreciation of an underlying common ground. Presumably Tillich has in mind Brunner's sharp contrast between love and justice, Nygren's separation of *agape* and *eros,* Reinhold Niebuhr's comparison of *agape* and mutuality, and possibly Nels Ferré's distinction of *agape* and *subagapeic* love. The dialectical character of neo-orthodox thinking in social ethics disturbs Tillich, whose theological approach and aim is dominated by concerns for unity—theological, philosophical, cultural, and ethical. At any rate, this volume offers a different approach to the problem by seeking to show the underlying similarities of love, power, and justice through an analysis of these elements in relation to *being.*

"All problems of love, power, and justice drive us to ontological analysis. The confusions cannot be cleared up, nor can the problems be solved without answer to the question: In what way is each of these concepts rooted in being itself? And the question of being-itself is the ontological question." "If the question of being is asked and concepts like love and power are seen in the light of the ontological question, the unity of their root meaning can become visible. Yet most important are the problems of social ethics which result from the confrontation of love and power. One could say that constructive social ethics are impossible as long as power is looked at with distrust and love is reduced to its emotional or ethical quality. Such a division leads to a rejection of or indifference to the political realm on the side of religion. And it leads to the separation of the political from the religious and the ethical and to the politics of mere compulsion on the political side. Constructive social ethics presupposes that one is aware of the element of power without which love becomes chaotic surrender. It is the ontological analysis of love and power which must produce this awareness."

The above quotation clearly indicates what Tillich is trying to do. He is keenly aware of the ethical cleavage between love and power and to

a degree a cleavage between love and justice. This means that if love is supreme there is danger of a cultural dualism which will destroy the unity of civilization. He is admitting that there is no ethical solution to the ethical problem. The problems of ethics must be approached ontologically, for only on the level of being is the unity of love, power, and justice apparent. In other words, the problem of the *ought* must be solved in terms of the *is*.

In his ontology of love, Tillich opposes those interpretations which reduce love to an emotion. Love as emotion excludes power. Love as emotion is sentimental and leads to a passivity which invites chaos. Love as emotion cannot be related successfully to the dynamics of power nor to the laws of justice. Furthermore it cannot be commanded if it is spontaneous. Ontologically conceived "love is the drive towards unity of the separated." Therefore, any act which ultimately overcomes separation, irrespective of the nature of intermediary steps, is an act of love. There are no loving acts, i.e., acts which may be classified by their own intrinsic value. Only when they actually bring together the "estranged" (note Tillich prefers "estranged" to "strange" since the latter would suggest a deep dichotomy which his theory of being will not admit) are they loving acts.

With respect to recent discussions on the nature of love, Dr. Tillich is disturbed by the separation of love into *kinds*. "They were useful in so far as they directed the attention of the different qualities of love. But they were and are misleading in so far as they consider the differences of qualities as differences of types. The error was not that one distinguished the qualities of love. On the contrary, more distinctions should have been made in what was often comprehended under the name of *eros*. The error was that one did not start with an understanding of love as one." Tillich goes on to show the overlapping nature of love in so far as *agape, philia,* and *eros* never manifest themselves in the purity of separateness. All of these have common qualities since they are directed to the end of bringing together the separated and it is an error to suggest that because desire (epithymia), even as sensual self-fulfillment, is associated with *eros, eros* is placed on a lower level. *Eros* is accompanied by pleasure but "it is not the pleasure that is desired, but the union with that which fulfills the desire." When *eros* as a quality of love is depreciated, love becomes obedience, culture is depreciated, and life loses its vitality and color. In fact, love without *eros,* according to Dr. Tillich, is not love at all. It is the opposite of love. "There is an element of libido even in the most spiritualized friendship and in the most ascetic mysticism." So claims depth psychology. "Without libido life would not move beyond itself."

Agape, which Tillich correctly identifies with New Testament love, is accepted as transforming love in which ultimate reality is revealed. *Agape* "cuts into love" just as revelation cuts into reason. *Agape* is associated with the "holy community." It overcomes the ambiguities of love by "cutting through the separation of equals and unequals, of sympathy and antipathy, of friendship and indifference, or desire and disgust. It needs no sympathy in order to love; it loves what it has to reject in terms of *philia*. *Agape* loves in everybody and through everybody love itself. Agape would appear to imply pacifism. However, since no man can live by *agape* alone, pacifism is considered theologically defective. In fact, *agape* in its absolute undiluted form is not a historical possibility. *Agape* finds its fragmentary embodiment in the church. The church itself is a fragmentary anticipation of the eternity in which all the ambiguities of love, power, and justice are overcome in *agape*. As to whether *agape* ex-

ists outside the church, Tillich refers to "groups and movements, which although they do not belong to the manifest church, represent something we may call a 'latent Church.' But neither the manifest nor the latent Church is the Kingdom of God."

With respect to the ontology of power, the author's dependence upon Schopenhauer and Neitzsche is evident. Power is distinguished from compulsion in so far as the former refers to the power of being whereas the latter refers to the sociological effect of one will as opposed to another will. Power as the victory of being over nonbeing employs compulsion for the accomplishment of its purposes. Power needs compulsion. Compulsion is not evil in itself. Only when compulsion plays into the hands of nonbeing is it evil.

Tillich denies that there is a necessary conflict between power and love. Love is the foundation of power. Power must be brought into the service of love. The ultimate unity of love and power was, according to Tillich, seen by Luther who was most conscious of the ethical clash between power and love. Luther was aware of the most obvious and "proper" work of love in terms of nonresistance, self-surrender, sweetness, and mercy. And yet Luther acknowledged the very necessary social obligations of the magistrate and the soldier as works of love. Condemnation, killing, and bitterness are the "strange" works of love but nevertheless are love. The dualism of later Lutheranism which drove an absolute wedge between love and justice, love and judgment, love and punishment has its source in Luther, but it resulted from a failure to see that side of Luther's thought which moved back from social reality to creation and from creation to God who is the God of love. Just as Tillich moves ontologically from culture to being, so Luther moved from culture to Creator in such a way as to ascribe all the constituent elements of life to God. When does compulsion conflict with love? "It conflicts with love when it prevents the aim of love, namely, the reunion of the separated. Love, through compulsory power, must destroy what is against love." Thus when a soldier kills and the hangman applies the rope, love is manifested if that which is contrary to love is destroyed.

Tillich illustrates this point by citing an occasion during the Middle Ages when a murderer was executed as relatives fell upon their faces and prayed for his soul. "The destruction of his bodily existence was not felt as a negation, but as an affirmation of love. It made the reunion of the radically separated soul of the criminal with himself and with the souls of his natural enemies possible. The opposite story is that of present-day totalitarian forms of the exercise of power, in which the victims are transformed into things by fatigue, drugs, and other means, and nobody, not even relatives and friends, are allowed to participate in their destruction, which is intended as a destruction of their whole being without reuniting love."

Justice is defined as the *form* of the reunion of the separated. Everything that has being is entitled to justice in terms of the power of being. A tree and a man must be treated justly though justice varies with their relative degrees of being. Justice to man means the opportunity to realize manhood to its fullest. There are, however, *levels* of justice—distributive, proportional, and creative. By creative justice he means a dynamic transforming power of reunion in accordance with a higher law of redemption, of which the classical expression is given in the Bible, i.e., the paradoxical justice of forgiveness, justification by faith, and the combination of law and mercy found generally in piety. Here he sees a type of justice which

makes possible a creative adaptation to circumstances looking to transcendence of law without the destruction of order.

With respect to the relation of justice to compulsion, the problem is solved as in the case of the relation of love to compulsion by his claim that as long as compulsion is devoted to justice and justice is motivated by love, compulsion may be used. In fact, the author maintains that unless love is forwarded by compulsion, and love takes the form of justice, love is "chaotic self-surrender, destroying him who loves as well as him who accepts such love . . . . Sometimes the love of complete self-surrender has been praised and called the fulfillment of love. But the question is: What kind of self-surrender is it and what is it that it surrenders? If a self whose power of being is weakened or vanishing surrenders, his surrender is worth nothing. He is a self that has not received from himself the justice to which he is entitled, according to his intrinsic claim for justice. The surrender of such an emaciated self is not genuine love because it extinguishes and does not unite what is estranged. The love of this kind is the desire to annihilate one's responsible and creative self for the sake of participation in another self which by the assumed act of love is made responsible for himself and oneself. The chaotic self-surrender does not give justice to the other one, because he who surrenders did not give justice to himself. It is justice to oneself to affirm one's own power of being and to accept the claims for justice which is implied in this power. Without this justice there is no reuniting love, because there is nothing to unite."

Possibly this is the place to begin an evaluation of Tillich's ontological method and the consequence of that method. In the first place, it may be recognized that there have been within the Christian tradition a number of great ontologists—Augustine, Anselm, Pascal, and Jonathan Edwards. The ontological method in the opinion of this reviewer is as valid as any philosophical approach. The penetrating analysis of Tillich of the structural principles of reality as expressed in the relation of love, power, and justice to one another places Tillich among the great ontologists. In so far as ontology can illuminate the kind of world in which we live, it may be accepted as a worthy contribution to the sum of Christian knowledge. The problem with Tillich is, however, that his approach is exclusively ontological. In the mind of the reviewer, this places him in the tradition of the philosophical ontologists rather than the theological ontologists. Both with respect to method and result Tillich belongs to the succession of Valentinus, Spinoza, Schelling, Schopenhauer, and Neitzsche. This does not mean that his brilliant analysis of reality has any less value as a philosophy; but it does mean that his "theology" must be accepted as a product of a philosophical method which does not know the real meaning of revelation and is really not a theology after all. The difference between Augustine, Pascal, and Edwards on the one hand and Tillich on the other hand, is that the former accepted the authority of the Bible and the finality of revelation whereas Tillich does not. Tillich describes his own position as that of the "borderline between theology and philosophy." In so far as he employs both the materials of theology and philosophy, he has every right to make this claim. However, the deciding issue is that of orientation. The demands of authority require any thinker to stand on one side or the other; either one appeals in the last analysis to Biblical revelation or to ontology as in the case of Tillich. It would seem that Tillich must be placed with the philosophers.

This is not always clear to those who have associated him with the Christian tradition by reason of his years of teaching in the theological

seminaries and divinity schools and now at Harvard. Furthermore, he constantly addresses himself to problems of the Christian church and Christian civilization. There are few more brilliant interpreters of Protestantism to the secular mind, and he is a master of Christian symbolism and aesthetics. However, it needs to be remembered that in so far as his philosophy appears theological it is parasitic. It claims in the name of ontology what is available to Tillich and others through historical revelation. If Tillich were willing to limit his claims for ontology to that of the correlation of revelation and ontology in which the former is accepted ultimately upon its own authority, as in the case of Pascal, there would be no objection. However, as in the case of *Love, Power, and Justice* a theological problem is being solved for all practical purposes outside the realm of the theological. If ontology were made the servant of Biblical theology, in which case the limitations of ontology would be acknowledged, there could be no reason for complaint. In the case of Tillich, however, Biblical revelation is made the servant of the philosophical approach.

In the second place, we must consider specifically what value this treatment has for Christian ethics. It would appear that its value rests in the restatement of the problem of Christian ethics rather than a constructive solution to the problem. Tillich's main point is that ethics must take all factors of love, power, and justice into consideration without slighting any of them, since all have their roots in being. Power cannot be slighted because it is a fact and compulsion is likewise inevitable. This raises the fundamental question as to whether Christian ethics rests upon what *is* or what *ought to be*—whether Christian ethics is grounded in nature or revelation, creation or redemption. To be sure a philosophical ethic must deal with all factors which come before the mind; and, of course, a Christian ethic must reckon with the kind of world in which we live. However, Christian ethics must be grounded in Christian revelation which by reason of the dichotomy of love and sin, of redemption and the fall, and of the "nonbeing" of the cross and the being of self-realization, place Christian ethics and ontological ethics in conflict. It is little wonder that Tillich makes nothing of the cross of Jesus as a key to the nature of the operation of love. Obviously the cross leads to "nonbeing" which is utter foolishness to a philosophy of being. Actually Tillich is more in the tradition of Schopenhauer than Christianity.

One may wonder also just how the ontological analysis advances the solution to the ethical problem of the relation of love, power, and justice. Tillich claims that only ontology can hold these elements together. Only as they are seen in their relation to the ultimate ground can they be related successfully to one another. This reviewer feels that Tillich is dodging the real question which is the ethical question. Actually he claims on the one hand that these elements cannot be related on the level of ethics; but in driving them down to the level of the ontological, Tillich is constantly making ethical judgments. What he is actually doing is pushing an accepted ethic into the realm of being.

Tillich, of course, is interested in an ethic of civilization in which there is manifested the unity of being itself. In this respect he rejects an ethic which would in any way suggest a Christian exclusivism, i.e., a segment of society which would refuse to accept as a basis for its ethic one or more of the elements of social structure. To refuse some of the functions of society is to refuse the full implications of "being." Put in theological language it is the refusal to accept God's world as it is created. This raises the fundamental question as to whether Christian conduct

is to be grounded in nature or grace, *Weltgeschichte* or *Weilsgeschichte,* the community at large or the redemptive community. It is the conviction of this reviewer that a Christian ethic must take its clue from historical revelation which may indeed be foolish from the standpoint of an ontological analysis of being. However, it is the element of foolishness which distinguishes it from an ethic of nature. It is no accident that Tillich makes only four references to Christ in this volume and not a single reference to Him as an authoritative source of ethical knowledge. The problem which Christ presents to Tillich is Christ's unwillingness to embody in His own being all the elements of being of which Tillich is aware. Specifically Christ refused to use compulsion, preferring rather an exclusive employment of spiritual power. It is the exclusive element in Christ's life and teaching which makes Him a stumbling block to any philosopher who insists upon an ethic which will include all the elements of cultural existence. To be sure, Tillich sees the superiority of *agape* to other forms of love, spiritual power to physical power, and creative justice to proportional justice, but since existence includes elements other than the highest, ethics must make the adjustment. This reviewer admits that an ethic of cultural or social responsibility must accept the limitations of what *is;* but it is not clear that a Christian ethic is grounded in what *is.* In fact, God hath chosen "things that are not to bring to nought things that are."

Just a word should be said about Tillich's understanding of love as that which ultimately unites and as such may include "ambiguous" acts which may seem to be unloving such as punishing an offender. This runs counter to Mennonite thinking and New Testament teaching in so far as "love does no wrong to a neighbor." However, in view of the psychological ambiguity of love and the multiple ends to which human love may be devoted, should we not make the distinction between the proper manifestations of *agape* and the various expressions of love in general? This would mean that we can concede to Tillich and others that love such as is grounded in being, might very well utilize compulsion of a severe sort. This would mean that a judge or a policeman can be motivated by love of a *subagapeic* level whereas *agape* which may very well possess certain psychological affinities with love in general, nevertheless, accepts within its operations the categories of nonresistance in accordance with the spirit.

In the last analysis, the decision must be made whether a Christian ethic in which God is "imitated" receives the divine imperative through a fallen order or through Christ. It is no accident that in so far as we are called in the New Testament to imitate God, we are called to embody precisely those attributes of God which are found most evidently in Christ. Paul says, "Be imitators of God like dear children," adding "and walk in love as Christ loved you." We would agree with C. H. Dodd who comments in *Gospel and Law* as follows: "The council to imitate God, therefore, or to become like God, is one that we have to use with great caution, because we do not know how to translate our conceptions of divine perfection into canons of human behavior. The New Testament idea of the imitation of Christ is a way of making explicit what *kinds* of divine activity should be imitated by men, and how, and why, and in what circumstances." Since Tillich is telling us that behavior must be based upon the nature of God which he calls the "ground of being," and since we know God through the world as it is now constituted, is it not possible that he has a method which can lead to a usurpation of powers which belong to God alone? The "imitation" of God has become in the history

of the church the occasion of slavery, religious persecution, and war. It may yet become the occasion for the destruction of humanity or a large proportion of the world's population by way of the hydrogen bomb. The problem which Tillich and other theologians of "realism" must face is that, even accepting the "tragic" character of love in relation to power, power has now reached proportions which, if unleashed in accordance with the implications of social responsibility, will destroy all possibility of "reunion." Therefore, the guiding principle of Christian conduct cannot be being, even when interpreted in terms of providence. Most certainly the wrath of God is a fact of being. We would, however, claim that a Christian ethic is distinctly Christian by being a vocational ethic obtaining its clue from the "teleology" of revelation. Dr. Tillich's willingness to settle for ontology in ethics issues from the fact that he never really gave his idea of "kairos" a secure foundation in Biblical thought. In the last analysis, ontology without "kairos" lands one in the Greek philosophical tradition.

Nevertheless, *Love, Power, and Justice* is a great book from which all of us can benefit as an analysis of the kind of world in which we live. The criticisms above are directed to his method rather than to the results of his method.

Goshen College J. Lawrence Burkholder

The Story of Bethel College. By Peter J. Wedel. Edited by Edmund G. Kaufman. North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College, 1954. Pp. xxiv, 632. $5.00.

How the story of the entire life of a people can furnish the background for evolving plans for a college, or the desire for adequate and appropriate schooling for its youth, is well illustrated in *The Story of Bethel College.* Over 600 pages are packed full of interesting facts and events. The book begins with the Anabaptists in Switzerland in the early sixteenth century and ends with the donation of a rich suburban farm to Bethel College to provide funds for a new men's dormitory at the close of 1953.

This book is recommended for reading by those interested in higher education, in religion and the church, in history and in most of life's experiences. Many events are reported involving youth and age, finance and buildings, curriculum and dormitory life, college administration and church co-operation, football, agriculture, museum, the singing of the "Messiah," and struggles in pioneering and satisfaction in achievement. Mennonites anywhere and in whatever pursuit of life can gain much information nowhere else to be found.

The authors have made abundant provision for supplementary and illustrative material. There are 154 illustrations and tables; a very complete bibliography and list of reference notes; a ten-page list of pertinent dates and events of Bethel College covering 75 years; copies of important documents; and a number of additional appendices. All this gives it very considerable reference value.

The story begins with Mennonite origins and educational institutions of the denomination in Europe and America; then relates the beginnings of schools that became forerunners of Bethel College. Parts II to VI follow: Pioneer Years at Bethel College; Becoming a Liberal Arts College; Stabilization and Growth; In Retrospect. The organization is clear and reflects a volume well planned; the style is very readable.

When the efforts of two men converge on writing the story of an institution, both of whom have first been students of the same, then teachers and administrators, the reader can look for a thoroughgoing report. This assures the authenticity of *The Story of Bethel College.* Wedel attended the Halstead Mennonite Seminary, forerunner to Bethel College, in 1886-90 and joined the faculty of Bethel College in 1902, continuing to serve the college until his death in 1951. For the greater part of the time he taught chemistry, also serving in various offices, particularly as Registrar for thirty-two years. Kaufman was an academy and college student at Bethel College, receiving the A.B. degree in 1916. He has been on the Bethel College staff since 1931, for twenty years its president. These long, varied, and intimate contacts with the institution qualify them well as author and editor of this book.

Bluffton College J. S. SCHULTZ

The Growth of Foreign Missions in the Mennonite Brethren Church. By Gerhard Wilhelm Peters, Ph.D. Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1952. Pp. 300. $2.75.

The author's enthusiastic interest in the foreign missions movement of his denomination, his educational attainments, and his experience as a conference worker, certainly qualify him to write this book, which is the first full account of the early foreign mission program of the Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America as it relates to India, Africa, and China. In its compilation Dr. Peters has studied widely, thought deeply, and used much effort and time in research. Beginning with the roots of the Mennonite Brethren Church in South Russia during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, he portrays with well-documented facts and interesting high lights the origin of this particular denomination, its struggle for existence, its transplanting to North America, and its awakening and ever-growing interest in missions.

From its very small beginnings, by sharing in the mission work of other denominations, the M.B. Conference felt led to be courageous in establishing its own foreign mission enterprise, and thereafter established mission fields in India, Africa, and China, so that by the time this book was written its foreign missions program was serving some five million people and supporting over 80 missionaries sent out from the homeland, in addition to many native workers in the three large fields. A comprehensive study of each of the three fields is included in the book, furnishing information regarding the geography, the anthropological and the religious background, as well as the history of the work carried on by the Mennonite Brethren missionaries. Credit is also given to work done in these fields by other missions.

While this book will best serve the group for which it is written, the account contained within its covers of the ups and downs, growing pains, successes and defeats in the high venture of spreading the Gospel of salvation to those in darkness is a challenge to any reader to commit his life anew to world-wide missionary endeavor. A full bibliography, copious footnotes, and valuable appendices add to the academic value of the volume.

Hillsboro, Kansas A. E. JANZEN

Not Regina. By Christmas Carol Kauffman. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1954. Pp. viii, 232. $2.50.

Not Regina, written by Christmas Carol Kauffman, is based on the Anabaptist movement. The book is an intermingling of fact and fiction; yet there is an authentic quality in Regina's response to the conflicts brought about when Conrad Grebel challenged Zwingli in the sixteenth century.

The story is built around Regina, daughter of Friederich Strahm, a weaver in Weisslingen near Zurich. The family belongs to Zwingli's Reformed Church. The idyllic life of Regina is suddenly darkened as the Anabaptist movement begins to spread. She cannot comprehend the issues; yet she struggles in her quest for truth.

Regina is drawn into the center of the conflict when she becomes a maid in the home of Heinrich Hofmeier, a priest and ardent defender of Zwingli. Here she observes the church and state join hands in seeking to uproot the Anabaptists. Her tender conscience and broad sympathies steadily draw her towards the serene, peace-loving, and happy Anabaptists.

Finally Regina secretly joins the Anabaptists. Quickly she is imprisoned in the Kyburg Castle. Peter Reimann, prison guard and admirer of Regina, helps her escape and together they flee to the Anabaptist hiding place. Here in a cave Regina discovers her parents and brother who have also been converted. The story ends with the conversion of Peter, a hasty marriage, and a flight to safety in Austria.

The story reflects a comprehensive knowledge of the Anabaptist movement and has the convincing flavor of the Alpine regions. The conflict in the story is no mere trifle; the author succeeds in dramatizing a real struggle.

The story is not without weaknesses. The religious conflicts are at times oversimplified. Regina's conversion seems too easy. She is more convincing before her conversion than after. The happy and romantic ending seems an easy escape from a more realistic resolution of the Grebel-Zwingli conflict. The motivation of Peter's conversion is ambiguous.

The book, however, recommends itself. It offers pleasant and rewarding reading for students of the Anabaptist movement. This is certainly the best book written by the author thus far.

Tabor College — Wesley J. Prieb

Instruction in Christian Love (1953). By Martin Bucer; Translated with Introduction and Notes by Paul T. Fuhrmann. John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1952. Pp. 68. $1.50.

Martin Bucer was born in Alsace in 1491. When he was only 15 years of age he entered the Catholic Dominican order, and at the age of 25 he was transferred to Heidelberg where he came under the influence of both Luther and Erasmus. Although through life he maintained Erasmus' interest in the cultured Christian personality, he was still more impressed by Luther's emphasis on the need for repentance and on salvation through faith. As a result he sought to be relieved of his monastic vows and was ultimately excommunicated from the Roman Church. Bucer later moved to Strasbourg, and there while teaching a course in the Pastoral Epistles he was asked to state his faith and to account for it. As a result, he wrote a tract which he called *That No One Should Live for Himself but for Others, and How Man Can Come Therein.* The translator, a professor at Gammon

Theological Seminary, who was born of Swiss and Alsatian parents, has changed this title to the simple one, *Instruction in Christian Love.*

One cannot help being impressed by the beauty and the simplicity of this significant document. In spite of a profound knowledge of the humanistic thought of his times and of classical languages, the author is able to present in the language of the people a clear affirmation of his faith. Every page abounds with quotations or accurate paraphrases of passages from both the Old and New Testament. These the author has translated into the vernacular of his day directly from the original Hebrew and Greek because other translations were not as yet available. (Luther's New Testament was published only one year before Bucer's document was written, and his Old Testament was not published until 11 years after Bucer wrote.) His strong plea to young Christians to live not for self, but for others to the glory of God, is presented with great effectiveness.

Unfortunately, Bucer was better acquainted with Luther than with the Anabaptists and he shared some of Luther's antipathy toward them. The translator, in his introduction, seems to feel that the chief point of difference was in their concept of the nature of the church. Bucer was eager to include multitudes, saved and unsaved, and minister to them whereas the Anabaptists regarded the church as a fellowship of believers. A careful study of Bucer, however, will reveal that there were many other differences as well. For example, in his statement that some legitimate callings are more Christian than others Bucer was depending more on St. Thomas Aquinas than upon New Testament Christianity. Furthermore, when he instructed secular authorities to impose Biblical laws providing for the death penalty, he was following Luther and Calvin in neglecting important New Testament teachings, especially those of the Sermon on the Mount (see pp. 36-38).

These deficiencies, however, do not mar the general usefulness of this book. Any earnest Christian can find here much food for devotional thought.

Goshen College Carl Kreider

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